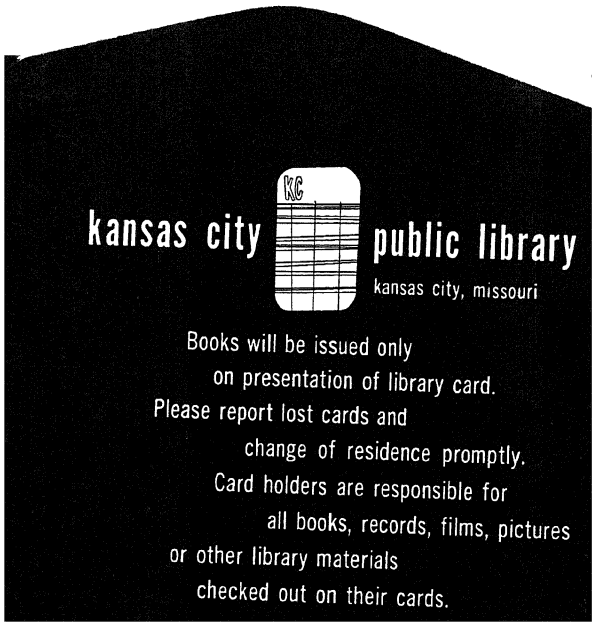
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Indian students on an American campus



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INDIAN STUDENTS ON AN AMERICAN CAMPUS

by Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler

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Foreword

Visitors in foreign lands have always been agents of cultural contact and transmission. The increase in "exchange of persons," especially after World War II, has stimulated interest in the mechanisms and consequences of exchange, particularly in the United States where for several years the number of foreign students enrolled in institutions of higher education has exceeded 30,000. Also characteristic of the recent period has been the growth of organized programs of exchange supported by governments, foundations, and other organizations. Since such sponsored exchange has been undertaken with a variety of avowed objectives—ranging from the promotion of international friendship and understanding to the transmission of skills essential to programs of technical assistance and national development—questions have been raised about the effectiveness with which student exchanges have served these purposes. The need for evaluation of programs has been widely recognized, and several major attempts at evaluation have recently been undertaken. To provide adequate guidance for the improvement of programs, however, evaluation must be founded on an understanding of the determinants of effects on the foreign student. Such understanding has been insufficient because of the lack of substantial previous research on cross-cultural education.

In this setting the Social Science Research Council early in 1952 appointed a Committee on Cross-Cultural Education. In view of the divergence among specific aims of programs, and the dearth of empirical knowledge of the processes and effects of exchange, the role of this committee was considered to be distinct from program evaluation; the committee was to plan and stimulate research that might lead to better

understanding of the complex processes involved in cross-cultural education. Practical considerations led to concentration on present and former foreign students in United States universities. With this narrower focus, the committee hoped to select significant problems and to carry research on them far enough to establish provisional findings and to indicate promising areas for further examination.

Support for a three-year program with this purpose was granted to the council by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The present monograph is one of several reports based on research in this program.

The principal studies sponsored by the committee fall into two groups. On the assumption that difference in cultural background is an important factor in determining the consequences of foreign educational experience, intensive studies of students from several countries of contrasting cultures were first undertaken, beginning in the fall of 1952. These studies relied primarily but not exclusively on prolonged personal interviews, and were particularly concerned with the relation of cultural background to the student's adjustment in the United States, and to his readjustment after return to his home country. Four studies in American universities were coordinated by M. Brewster Smith of the council staff. Complementary studies of returned students in their home countries were directed by Cora DuBois, then of the Institute of International Education. All these studies benefited from consultation with John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, who were then about to undertake for the Hazen Foundation the research reported in their book *The Western-Educated Man in India* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1955.) The committee is grateful to them and to the Hazen Foundation for their willing and close cooperation with its efforts.

The second phase of the program comprised more systematic studies of problems and hypotheses identified in the committee's review of findings in the earlier series. Only a few of many challenging leads could be pursued in the second group of studies, carried on during 1954–55. Several apparently important determinants of differing outcomes of sojourn in the United States, particularly determinants of attitudes, were investigated in detail. Mutual relevance of the several projects was again encouraged by joint planning and by frequent communication among the project directors, under the general coordination of M. Brewster Smith.

The foregoing account may well suggest certain cautions to readers of the monographs based on the committee's studies. The early projects focused on nationality groups do give, as intended, a picture of some varieties of experience of foreign students. The small numbers of students that could be interviewed, however, and the lack of systematic sampling mean that generalizations about the frequency of different reactions and their determinants can be misleading. Arbitrary extension of conclusions to all foreign students or to foreign students in a particular situation would be most hazardous. A different reservation is in order with respect to the second group of studies. These were designed to throw light on particular relationships that seemed to be important in the outcome of study in the United States. But focusing on these relationships entailed the neglect of others perhaps equally important. Cross-cultural research, moreover, is still in the pioneering stage. Other compromises and limitations are made explicit by the authors of the respective monographs.

The research sponsored by the committee, it should be emphasized, was not designed to *evaluate* present exchange programs. Studies of a quite different sort would be required for that purpose. But the monographs inevitably call attention to difficulties and even individual "failures," in their exploration of processes and determinants of adjustment, learning, and attitude formation in cross-cultural experience. A hasty reader, especially if he measures success in terms of complete acceptance of the United States by visitors, may conclude that foreign student exchange is of questionable value. The committee's studies justify no such conclusion. It is hoped that administrators will find in the committee's work a basis for better understanding of cross-cultural education, for more informative efforts at evaluation, and for future decisions as to policy.

The dynamic leadership and wide-ranging interests of Wendell C. Bennett, the first chairman of the committee, played an important part in shaping its task. Both professionally and personally the committee suffered a great loss on his death in September 1953.

RALPH L. BEALS
Chairman, Committee on
Cross-Cultural Education

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank the students from Ceylon, India, and Pakistan who gave us their fullest cooperation in this study. In the most literal sense, this study would not have been possible without them. We are also grateful to Marvin Wolfgang and Robert O. Swan who assisted in the collection and analysis of the data, and Mrs. Felicia Mortensen who efficiently managed the secretarial staff throughout the study.

Our colleagues in both the South Asia Regional Studies Department and the Sociology Department of the University of Pennsylvania were most helpful with their suggestions at all stages of the research. We are particularly indebted to W. Rex Crawford who in several informal discussions shared his wide experience in cross-cultural education.

Discussions with the staff members in the Japanese, Mexican, and Scandinavian studies frequently clarified our own thinking on many problems. Our debt to John and Ruth Hill Useem is acknowledged here and the link between our study and theirs is discussed in the epilogue. We thank the Cross-Cultural Education Committee of the Social Science Research Council for sponsoring this study, and we are especially grateful to Ralph Beals, chairman, and M. Brewster Smith of the staff who critically but sympathetically read the manuscript. We, of course, assume the customary responsibility for trespasses.

We acknowledge our debt to the editors of these journals for permission to reproduce parts of articles which appeared in their pages: the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *Journal of Higher Education*.

R. D. L. and M. B.

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Indian Students on an American Campus

CHAPTER 1 ◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈ Introduction

IN THE postwar years ever increasing numbers of foreign students have found their way into institutions of higher education throughout the United States. In 1939–40 there were 6100 students from abroad, by 1953–54 there were nearly 34,000.[1] But in spite of this increase in their numbers, these foreign visitors are still proportionately very small in the total enrollment of our colleges and universities. Their special problems and goals are not directly relevant to the major issues with which the policy makers in American academic life are preoccupied. Like other students suddenly thrust into our academic life, they must adjust themselves to these unique and intricate social institutions, learn the ways of professors, deans, and secretaries, and acquire as best they can the symbols of success.

The special nature of the problems of students from abroad, the appeal of sharp cultural contrasts, and an interest in promoting international amity have moved a very high percentage of our major colleges and universities to provide separate facilities for meeting the special needs of the foreign student group, facilities ranging from elaborate "American Brother or Sister" plans and counseling staffs as at the University of Minnesota to lone, overworked, part-time foreign student advisers.[2] Moreover, a host of volunteer organizations outside the colleges and universities have devoted part of their time to ministering to the nonacademic needs of these foreign visitors. The excellent work

[1] The factors underlying this increase have been discussed in Guy S. Metraux, *Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Pamphlet No. 9, June 1952).

[2] The National Association of Foreign Student Advisers lists 231 college and university members.

that is being done by organizations like the Institute for International Education, the International House, the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, World Affairs councils, the Federated Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and various fraternal and church organizations, is ample testimony to the interest which foreign students excite in many circles in America.

Few of the facilities or organizations concerned with the welfare of foreign students are large enough to afford even a rough regional specialization—the kind of specialization that allows the formation of separate sections responding to the varying needs of different nationality groups. Perhaps the most elaborate organization is the Institute of International Education, which in its semiofficial capacity has been a focal point for educational exchange activities since its founding in 1919. It is divided into regional sections very much like the "desks" in the Department of State. To other organizations, however, a foreign student is a foreign student. It is presumably desirable in principle to treat each individual student as a unique case, but the demands upon time and knowledge are overwhelming. The practitioner in the field of foreign student welfare must rely to a large extent on rough national stereotypes in dealing with one nationality or another. But a survey of the traits and special problems ascribed by foreign student advisers to various nationalities [3] revealed a notable lack of consensus. The practitioner's need for carefully collected data on the problems of major nationality groups is clear. While he cannot be expected to become a universal expert on the cultures of the world, more detailed familiarity with selected nationalities should not only equip him to deal more effectively with their distinctive problems; it should also increase his sensitivity more generally to the implications of cultural differences among his charges.

This is a study of a single group: students from the South Asian subcontinent, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Although these three countries do represent striking cultural contrast, their cultures are quite similar in the variables most relevant to students visiting the United States—educational systems modeled on the British, recent political independence, "underdeveloped" economies, recent emergence on the international scene, and similar general family styles and social organiza-

[3] Bryce Wood, "Report of Survey of Experience of Foreign Student Advisers," unpublished memorandum, Social Science Research Council, May 12, 1952.

tional patterns. Where national differences are important, we will draw special attention to them. Otherwise, for the sake of brevity, we will refer to the entire group as Indian students, with apologies to the Pakistanis and Singhalese so slighted.

For the social scientist, the cross-cultural experience of the foreign student is a source of fruitful research. Problems of culture contact and conflict, learning process, adjustment and adult socialization, restructuring of values, attitude formation, and a host of others can be brought to focus in a fairly uniform social setting—the one that is best known to the social scientist—the American university. In the past few years, individual research projects have provided a growing body of objective data on the experiences of foreign students in the United States.[4] Such studies have frequently been confined to a single nationality. National differences are so immediate and striking that early research formulations must first seek common patterns within nationality groups. Thereafter cross-national patterns and types of problems can be established inductively from the diverse studies and tested on multinational samples.

Initial exploratory research is properly more concerned with ways of organizing, reducing, and analyzing broad sweeps of data than it is with exhausting the detail of any phenomenon. This is such a pilot study, seeking crude regularities and processes by means of the intensive study of a few cases. From it comes a series of propositions and descriptive generalizations which should be tested by more careful and extensive research.

For the administrator and social scientist alike, some indication must be given of the nature of the sample we have chosen and how well it reflects the various groups it might be considered to represent. The subjects of the research were sixteen Indians, two Pakistani, and one Singhalese enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania from July 1952 to August 1953. They were all the students from South Asian countries registered at the university at that time. There were about thirty-five other Indians variously occupied in the city of Philadelphia, some of them at other colleges and professional schools, some in trade schools, and some employed by firms throughout the city in semipermanent

[4] M. Brewster Smith, "Research in the Field of International Education," *Handbook on International Study* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1955), pp. 235–52; "A Perspective for Further Research on Cross-Cultural Education," *Journal of Social Issues*, 12:56–68 (1956).

positions. During the same year there were 1216 students from India, 248 from Pakistan, and 41 from Ceylon studying throughout the United States. The number has been steadily rising since World War II, increasing proportionately more than the general surge in foreign student enrollment. Both in the United States as a whole and at the University of Pennsylvania, Indians now represent the third largest single nationality group among students from abroad, exceeded only by Canadians and Chinese.

Within the United States, Indian students are found in a wide variety of institutions, but there is a fairly marked tendency to cluster, partly because of local concentrations of graduate specialties, and partly because of the reputation certain schools have for providing special facilities to Indian students. The University of Pennsylvania attracts students in both ways. In particular its Wharton School of Finance and Commerce and its Medical College get a continual stream of Indian applications. Moreover, the South Asia Regional Studies Department acts as a focal point for the study of the Indian subcontinent throughout the United States and draws Indians into its work as language assistants and special lecturers. The department's collection of current newspapers and periodicals provides a touch of home, and a well-organized community of fellow Indians is a natural harbor in an alien land.

It must also be noted that this is a sample in time; it selects a single year which necessarily had some unique features. In the first place, the composition of the student influx has changed over the years and will doubtless continue to do so. The Useems in their study of the foreign-trained in Bombay State point out the shift from B.A. candidates to graduate and professional students, from liberal arts and law to technical business,[5] and this trend is reflected in the Indian student groups at the University of Pennsylvania in postwar years. In the second place, the student, willingly or not, is affected by the current state of international relations between his own country and the host country. As we will indicate in Chapter 5, the Indian students showed a high degree of identification with their home country. The period under study included the early stages of a general disenchantment in America with India's position in relation to the West, and this fact must be kept in mind for some of the sections that follow in considering the overwhelm-

[5] John and Ruth Hill Useem, *The Western-Educated Man in India* (New York: Dryden Press, 1955), p. 5.

ing influence of loyalty to the home country and the resulting ambivalence of values. A happier, less demanding international climate would no doubt have eased many of the attitudinal adjustment problems, or at least robbed them of their heavy emotional impact.

It seems hardly necessary to say that this group is in no way a representative cross section of the Indian populace. Even with this obvious reservation in mind, however, we might expect a greater range in background characteristics among the members of the sample than in fact obtains. Actually, the range is remarkably narrow.

To be sure, there were merchants' sons sent out for further seasoning in a foreign culture preparatory to assuming prepared positions in management, scholars securely ensconced in the academic hierarchy, and some uncommitted to any career aspiration; there were Hindus, Moslems, and Christians; there were students from Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, East and West Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan, Madras, Ceylon; there were students from each of the four varnas—Brahmans, Vaishyas, Kshatriyas, and Sudras; there were the orthodox, the eclectic, and the irreligious; they had light and dark skins, were strong and frail, married and single, heads of families and youngest sons, extreme extroverts and passive observers.

Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in the aspects of their past histories most relevant to their visit to the United States. Their families all fall within the narrow confines of the educated middle class. For the ten cases for which systematic background data were collected, six were the sons of civil servants, two the sons of businessmen of the managerial and owner class, and two had fathers with respectable real estate holdings. The habitual residence of all of them was urban. All had spent most of their lives in schools distinguished by a strong British emphasis, living among a student body whose views were strongly nationalistic, and all were, like many of their fellow students, characterized by the ambivalence toward the traditional culture induced by cross-currents of the rationalistic iconoclasm of liberal thought on the one hand and the re-emphasized values of Indian tradition on the other. In India, as in the United States, the campus is a culture of its own, in a special and frequently distant relationship to the many-hued life that surrounds it. This common culture in which they were nurtured is reflected in the strikingly uniform and highly stereotyped image of

the India they describe, and in the uniform content of their image of the United States.

Moreover, they were all isolated to some extent from traditional influence throughout the important period of their socialization. Only one of them had remained in the family homestead throughout his education, and indeed for most of them the family household itself was subject to periodic moves. From the viewpoint of Indian society, the group is highly specialized, relatively homogeneous, and atypical. In a strict sense, findings relating to this group should not be projected beyond the universe of other Indian students, or at most should be limited to the Westernized segment of the Indian intelligentsia. But, we must recognize, it is through such atypical groups that most of our contacts with India are established.

Another significant aspect of the study lies in the distinctive character of both the University of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia. It is a truism that all campuses exhibit certain essential similarities and it is also true that standardization is an inevitable concomitant of urbanization. Nevertheless, a well-authenticated folklore testifies that Philadelphia has a "personality" which is uniquely its own. It is a city which is not notorious for its cosmopolitanism or for an emotional climate of high vivaciousness and verve. Yet it provides all the staple recreational and cultural facilities of a large city—a variety of restaurants, night clubs, dramatic companies, and sporting events, and a symphony orchestra—so that a wide range of experience is available.

The university itself is situated in a once elegant but now decaying section of West Philadelphia. It is surrounded by small business establishments and three-story rooming houses, and streetcars pass through the heart of its campus. Its physical environment does not encourage that quality of serene detachment and retreat which, it is rumored, distinguishes academic life elsewhere. However, as one of the oldest "Ivy League" universities, the University of Pennsylvania is self-consciously proud of its intellectual ancestry and of its current contributions to scholarship. There is no disposition on the part of university officials or faculty to be apologetic about the alleged delinquencies of the American educational system, or to alter the university's requirements to meet the special needs of foreign students.

Approximately fifteen thousand full- and part-time students attend the various undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools of the

University of Pennsylvania, so that the university is large and impersonal, and has its share of inevitable bureaucratic inertia and inflexibility. The three hundred members of the foreign student community constitute a sufficiently large number to be absorbed as a group into campus life and thus they do not derive the benefits normally accruing to exotic celebrities. There is an able and conscientious foreign student adviser who aids the student in various problems of scholastic and behavioral adjustment, but his activities are considerably limited by the exigencies of a slim operating budget.

Even superficial knowledge of other communities and other schools confirms the suspicion that it is misleading to think of either Philadelphia or the university as typical. It is quite conceivable that Indian students residing in other cities and attending other universities would have formed altogether different impressions of America and American education.

The data for this report were collected by a series of intensive, semi-structured individual and group interviews, by the administration of certain written instruments, and by participant observation by a member of the research team who was skilled in his knowledge of Indian culture and language and had been, for a number of years, on terms of intimacy with the Indian student community on the campus. At the outset, Herbert Hyman of Columbia University drew up a preliminary list of variables relevant to the study of cross-cultural education. The list was discussed by the directors of the projects dealing with the Indian, Japanese, Mexican, and Scandinavian students in the United States, and was adopted for use in each study to provide a minimal common ground. From this list a set of interview guides was developed, ours following most closely that created by William Sewell, Richard Morris, and Oluf Davidsen who were studying Scandinavian students at the University of Wisconsin. It covered various aspects of background, experiential, and attitudinal dimensions.

Of the nineteen Indian students a core group of eight was selected who were interviewed for five to eight hours each; the remaining eleven were interviewed for two or three hours. The core group was composed of the six new arrivals, so that we could follow a time dimension from initial impressions to the close of the year without reliance on distant recall, and two students who had resided in the United States a little more than a year at the outset of the study. Moreover, the eight students

in the core group met twice weekly in a seminar conducted by the South Asia Regional Studies Department which discussed the development of nationalism and current political trends in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, so that a record of what was essentially a series of group interviews on the current affairs in their own countries was available. The individual interviews and many of the seminar discussions were recorded, transcribed, and coded according to a scheme combining the list of core variables and a time dimension.

In addition to the interviews each student was asked to fill out a set of written questionnaires: one was an anthropological check list of details of his daily living patterns; another was a questionnaire measuring the extent and nature of his contacts with Americans, other Indian students, and other foreign students; and a third measured the extent to which the student had absorbed information about the more intimate, nonacademic aspects of American culture. A check list of values, a ranking and rating scheme, a sentence completion test aimed at eliciting personality variables, and a single set of lengthy psychoanalytic interviews yielded data of less value for present purposes. A questionnaire on the academic performance and behavior of each student was filled out by two of his major professors, and interviews were conducted with various administrators and key personnel dealing with Indian students on and off the campus.

The small size of the sample and the nature of the data collection do not permit elaborate statistical manipulation of the information. Nor have we adopted a complex scheme of data analysis for presentation. In seeking a frame of reference capable of relating isolated fragments of behavior to organized bodies of theory we relied heavily on the concept of "role," partly because of our own disciplinary inclinations and partly because our need for a simple expository scheme happily coincided with the Indian students' own conception of the crucial aspects of their experience. We found that each Indian student arrived in New York intent upon three roles which he consciously and actively worked to create: he was to be a student, a tourist, and an unofficial ambassador. We found these three role expectations dominating the initial interviews, both in response to questions designed to elicit reasons for coming to the United States and in freely offered comments upon initial experiences. This is not to say that the students were clear and precise in role strategy before their arrival. On the contrary, so impov-

erished were their preconceptions of the United States that their role expectations were likewise necessarily restricted and vaguely defined. They felt that they were here first to "get an M.B.A. at the Wharton School," "to take graduate work in economics," "to get an American degree"; second, "to get to know America," "to see a new country," "to see as much of the United States as possible"; and finally "to tell America about India," "to explain our point of view to Americans." Despite this initial vagueness, their American experience was in fact organized in terms of these three separate and sometimes conflicting sets of goals.

In choosing to organize our report according to the students' own definition of the purposes of their visit to the United States we imposed certain limitations on our analysis. "Role" is intrinsically a depersonalizing concept—it abstracts one activity from the totality of personality organization and distinguishes those aspects of behavior which are normatively defined from those which are purely idiosyncratic. It is obvious that differentials in personality often modify specific role behavior and that a systematic description of personality processes should ultimately be included in any complete analysis of the behavior of foreign students in the United States. We did, indeed, collect some data on this aspect, but we were at a loss as to how to make use of the findings. Our failure in this respect is instructive in indicating the unsettled state of interdisciplinary conceptualization in personality analysis when cultures other than our own are involved.

Several of the students volunteered to participate in a series of interviews with psychiatrists on the university faculty. One student spent eleven hours over a period of months with a psychiatrist in addition to the eight hours he was interviewed by us. Attempts to integrate the two independent sets of interviews foundered upon methodological and conceptual shoals. The methodological impasse arose over the use of nondirective versus directive interview techniques. To illustrate the problem, we quote the recorded statement of the examining psychiatrist, after he had compared the two sets of interviews:

The principal difficulty that I see is that we use dreams, free associations, and other evidences of unconscious material as a basis for our take-off for questions rather than specific things you are interested in, for example, the kind of questions that you ask in this outline [our interview guide]. What we try to do in our interviews is to break down

the dream into the individual elements, separate ideas contained in the dream, and we ask the subject to associate to those things as freely as he possibly can, give as many ideas as occur to him on this particular subject matter, and then to try to figure out what the central thread in the materials is and try to make the analysis from the central thread that runs through the material as he presents it. In other words, our feeling is that in an hour or in any one session, there is something that strings the whole material together and the goal of the psychiatrist is to try to figure out what the central thread is that runs through the entire material. This is not easy to do when you are asking direct questions, in fact it is impossible to do when you are asking direct questions on the kind of material that you have here. Now in our approach to the anamnestic material, we of course ask specific questions but again try to get the conscious feelings that he has about the relationship between himself and his mother and himself and his father. We don't draw conclusions out of this alone. We take the data that are contained in subsequent associative and dream material, using the anamnestic data to better understand the background to the associations. So, the differences between the approaches make our material virtually useless to you and your material almost useless to us as well.

In another recorded conference, a psychiatrist and a sociologist discussed the problem of the relationship between cultural differences and personality variables:

Psychiatrist: The intimate personal environment, the relationship that he has with his parents and with his family, his most immediate environment is much more important than the kind of school that he goes to, even the kind of cultural background from which he comes. The cultural background is important; this is where I think your contribution comes in. But I think that the use he makes of the culture depends upon the intimate personal environment of the individual.

Sociologist: Isn't there a sense in which, from a psychiatric point of view, the external environment is almost irrelevant inasmuch as he can choose an infinite number of possible ways to react to it?

Psychiatrist: Oh, I think that is true, especially in a fluid, mobile culture such as the one we live in or that the Indians live in.

Sociologist: Then the differences would have to be very, very great between various cultural influences to account for differences in personality.

Psychiatrist: Yes, I think that is true.

We have deliberately selected excerpts in which views diverged most sharply in order to dramatize the difficulty of integrating sociological and psychological approaches, especially in the light of our own con-

viction that so impersonal a variable as consciousness of different national status can provide the principal challenge to the students' emotional serenity. A seminar composed of a panel of psychiatrists and social scientists drawn from the various faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in the course of several years hammered out some broad principles of integration, but the competing frames of reference were difficult to reconcile in analyzing concrete forms of behavior. Therefore, while we are aware of the importance of personality variables, we have included them as residuals after deciding on the social determinants of role behavior.

We found it helpful to conceive of role behavior as largely a product of two classes of determinants which may be roughly distinguished as situational and socio-cultural. The first of these refers to the student viewed as a culture-free agent interacting with relevant structural features of the American scene which limit and impinge upon his behavior. Such concepts as "visitor," for example, are useful in emphasizing the extent to which behavior is defined by the immediate properties of the situation. The classic problems of providing for bed, board, and boredom must be resolved whether the visitor is an Indian student, a Polish displaced person, or a contest winner on an all-expense trip to the big city. The significance of this consideration for the study of cross-cultural education lies in the plausible expectation that all foreign students will share in common an irreducible number of experiences and problems of adjustment.

But social science has the obligation to explain the differences as well as the similarities that exist among people. As the original design of the Social Science Research Council cross-cultural education project assumed, and subsequent research has confirmed, representatives of various national groups do differ in important aspects of their behavior and these differences are demonstrably related to the fact that the students are bearers of distinctive cultural traditions, historical perspectives, and conscious perceptions of their country's status as related to the United States. Throughout this report we shall be developing the thesis that the major determinants of the experiences of Indian students in the United States lie in India, not here, and that Indian socio-cultural norms provide the primary context for their selection and interpretation of experiences in the United States. The chief methodological and theoretical caveat that emerges from this pilot study is that it is always

risky for the investigator to confine himself to general situational concepts in his description of Indian students, and probably other representatives of nations sharing similar socio-cultural characteristics.

This report, then, describes the three primary roles—student, tourist, ambassador—and inquiries into their social determinants. In order to play his roles effectively each student was called upon to develop a set of material and psychological adjustments to his physical environment. These we have considered in the next chapter under the title of "life styles." In the final chapter the entire temporary migration cycle including post-return adjustment is considered with the aid of the Useems' study, and a number of practical recommendations are made.

CHAPTER 2 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ Life Styles in America

NOWADAYS, even the sleepiest college athlete drowsing through a course in introductory sociology or anthropology is aware that his culture expresses itself in a highly complex set of folkways and behavior patterns. He has been regaled with tales of Trobriander folklore about conception, wolf-children in some mythical village in India, American romantic love and dating patterns, the potlatch and the couvade, and the capriciousness of eating peas with a fork. As a result of his exposure to this catalogue of curiosa, he completes the course with some awareness of the countless ways in which cultures differ and of the difficulty faced by an adult newcomer attempting to adjust to a strange society. From this background he might anticipate that Indian students, coming from a homeland sharing so few culture traits with the United States, would have a Herculean task in making even the most minimal of behavioral adjustments to their new environment—he might well picture them as innocents abroad faced with complex and baffling cultural riddles.

Our data give little support for such a picture. The Indian students reported surprisingly few difficulties in developing life styles suited to their new environment. There appear to be several reasons for this lack of initial culture shock.

For one thing, the contrast between the life styles of an Indian educated in the Western manner and an American of comparable status is not nearly so great as might be imagined. In spite of procedural differences between American and Indian colleges (discussed in the following chapter), the university environment is almost as universal as its name would imply. It is a hothouse culture as patterned as an English

formal garden and descended from much the same tradition. Perhaps greater problems of adjustment would have been encountered had a less Westernized section of the Indian populace been represented, but for the students in our sample, adjustment to the material environment was relatively serene.

It is well to remember that a complex and impersonal culture such as ours demands very little conformity from transients and strangers who remain essentially alien to the culture. Particularly in a large metropolis the life patterns of city-dwellers are so styled that large sections of its populace, through isolation, never effectively enter into the social structure. A center-city cliff-dweller need only be decorous and law-abiding. The public facilities available to strangers provide abundantly for the needs of transients. Eating in a cafeteria requires little knowledge of the intricacies of the menu; access to public entertainment demands only the purchase of a ticket; one may conquer the supermarket armed with only a primitive level of literacy and some cash; and a tourist bus with accompanying barker solves all problems of sightseeing. As a stranger, the Indian student could build a fairly simple life style which touched American culture at relatively few points and those chosen largely at his own discretion. Moreover, a subculture of other Indian students already established in the new environment was available to advise him about the few adjustments that were necessary. Once a satisfactory life style was developed it could be frozen into routine.

Adjustment problems there were, of course, and in the beginning the exhausting parade of new experiences and seemingly endless decisions on the trivia of daily living occupied much of the attention and time of the students. But many of the problems are similar to those met by all new students. An alien and a boy from a farm village in the United States share similar difficulties in relocating on a metropolitan campus. Their problems of adjustment differ in degree, not in kind. The point to note is that so long as the student sought only adjustment to his material environment, he could adopt a pattern already developed by his fellow nationals or perhaps blend it with bits and patches of his home country life styles as allowed by a permissive and indifferent host culture.

Major difficulties arose when the students sought to accomplish private ends directly associated with the purpose of their visit and involving the areas of activity where "adjustment" shades almost imperceptibly

into "manipulation." Each person interviewed, as we have already noted, indicated in some fashion that he felt impelled to extend himself in playing three active roles while in the United States: the student, the tourist, and the unofficial ambassador. In developing these roles, the visitor had to manipulate the American environment to achieve his goals. It is not difficult to create a relatively independent existence in an American city, but if one seeks to manipulate it to his own ends, he must become immersed in it and aware of its more intimate and intricate aspects. In these areas of self-conscious role-playing, then, the Indian students "met America" and did not always find it good.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 will be concerned with these roles and their attitudinal by-products. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the general life styles and organization of the Indian student community at the University of Pennsylvania.

GENERAL LIFE STYLES

Even a cursory examination of the data indicates that an adequate analysis of styles of living requires that the fresh arrivals be distinguished from the hardy perennial graduate students. Hence, the cases were divided into three generations as shown below.

Generation	*Length of Residence at Outset of Study*	*Number of Students*
First	Less than one year	6
Second	One to two years	7
Third	Two to seven years	6
Total		19

Our sample would have been more amenable to comparative analysis if we had been able to assume that the third-generation students were simply more experienced replicas of the first generation. Under these circumstances it might have been possible to discern a learning process of orderly change, or perhaps to define a series of stages with alternatives along the length-of-residence axis. Unfortunately, our data were not so obliging.

The third generation differed from the first in several important characteristics. For one thing, there was a marked difference in career orientations. Five of the six students in the first generation were col-

lege teachers at home, while the second and third generations were a heterogeneous group consisting of eight business, two medical, and three uncommitted students. The overriding importance of these distinctions in determining scholarly performance and the approach to an American education will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another important distinguishing factor was that all the first-generation students had been selected by official agencies from among a large number of applicants for travel, tuition, and maintenance awards. These included one student supported by a Carnegie Corporation grant through the Institute of International Education, one by a State Department grant, two by Ford Foundation grants, and two by Smith-Mundt grants. Their travel expenses were met by Fulbright travel grants. Only one in the second generation and none in the third generation had been so selected. The first generation, then, was a carefully chosen and officially sponsored group. It is true that six of the seven students in the second generation had also received tuition grants, but these were obtained after their arrival in the United States. The remaining individual in the second generation and all in the third were living either entirely on funds from their families or on family funds supplemented by money earned in the United States, or were supported by private philanthropic organizations in India.

This contrast in career orientations and sources of support by generations is remarkable in itself. It is primarily the result of a hiatus in the flow of privately sponsored business apprentices coming to the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce. The gap was filled by officially sponsored teachers from Indian colleges drawn to the University of Pennsylvania by a seminar on Indian government conducted by the South Asia Regional Studies Department.

So far as the design of the study is concerned, however, the intrinsic differences among the generations make it difficult to treat them as if they were a single cohort studied at three different stages of its residence cycle. For this reason, we have confined our comparisons of the generations to those aspects of adjustment to the United States that are directly concerned with the day-to-day living patterns and are therefore presumably unaffected by differentials in the social characteristics of the generations. Particularly in the area of attitudes we have abandoned the time dimension and redivided our group according to more realistic criteria.

First Generation. There was a striking uniformity in the daily living patterns of the first-generation students. In substance it would be difficult to distinguish this pattern from that pursued by an American student new to the city and region. The Indian student, newly arrived, lives in readily available furnished rooms, accumulates few material possessions, joins or visits many formal organizations, seeks to acquire the "tourist proficiencies." Coming into the impersonal atmosphere of a city university, he is generally limited in his choice of life style to those few facilities available to any stranger. Even within these options, fellow Indian students of his and older generations are on hand to transmit a ready-made pattern.

The first-generation student accepted his material environment largely as he found it and developed a daily routine within geographic and social boundaries previously fixed by the Indian student community. All six of the students lived within two city blocks on the same street, in spite of the fact that there is an extensive student rooming house area surrounding the university. In fact, except for one student whose wife arrived at midyear, and another who was living across the street in a university dormitory, all the first-generation group lived in a single rooming house. The rooms were barren, poorly furnished, and ill-equipped, and the students made no attempt to improve them or make them more comfortable. The room was a retreat, a place for study, but not a social gathering place.

By the end of the year, the first-generation students had acquired a few American gadgets. One had bought a typewriter and one had already purchased a tape recorder and a camera—characteristic purchases of the second-generation students. Two students shared ownership of a hot plate. Aside from clothing purchases, these acquisitions were the extent of their self-indulgence. None bought more than two or three items of clothing: an overcoat, a suit, and one or two neckties. Usually they had been advised at home to bring a minimum of clothing since they could buy heavy clothing more cheaply in the United States, but for the most part, they were content to retain their own wardrobes relatively intact. They were aware of the differences of cut in American and British clothing and when they attended American social gatherings, they tried to wear some items of American outer clothing. Only one student, a Pakistani, ever wore the formal costume of his country, and then only on the occasion of festivities at the International House. The official

costumes of the two countries are relatively new and have not yet won widespread adoption in either India or Pakistan.

All the beginning students ate American food. The preparation of Indian dishes depended upon adequate cooking facilities, and even where these existed, Indian foods accounted for only about one fourth of the diet. Of the six students, two were strict vegetarians, two ordinarily ate vegetarian dishes in India but were not vegetarians in principle, while the two Pakistani were non-vegetarians. The vegetarians-on-principle scrupulously maintained their practice here, even avoiding any foods containing eggs for fear the eggs might be fertilized. The other students became more flexible in their choice of foods. The new students tended to gravitate to one of the cafeterias near the university for their meals, usually the university cafeteria or a nearby Horn and Hardart's.

There were likewise variations in religious practices. Two students who had been almost completely secularized before their arrival dispensed with all religious observances during their residence. The two Moslems confined their observances to the recitation of prayers. There is a small, unimposing branch of the Ahmadiyya Society in central Philadelphia, but it did not attract the two Moslem students in our sample, although in previous years other Moslem students had occasionally participated. Two fundamentalist Hindus, the vegetarians, carried on prayers, religious readings, and fasts.

The most common form of entertainment was mutual visiting, on the average several times a week. Movies, popular in India too, were patronized at least several times a month by all the students. If a radio or television set was available, the students set aside certain hours of the day, usually to hear or see news programs or documentaries. None of the first generation could dance well, but several of them attended the weekly Friday dances at the International House.

None of the students smoked. One indulged in no "stimulants" at all; his prohibitions forbade him to use tobacco, tea, coffee, Coca Cola, alcohol, and soft drinks, leaving only water and milk as potables. One of his early indictments of America was the quantity of stimulants consumed, which indicated to him a people sorely lacking in self-discipline. In several courses he complained to the instructor about "smoking chimneys" in the classroom. Only one drank alcoholic beverages, and then only very rarely.

Once a life style was set, it was encased in a tightly bound schedule of inflexible sequence, which changed only where gross inconvenience would result from continuation of the old patterns. New adjustment problems were met with withdrawal until piecemeal experimentation could set up a satisfactory behavior pattern to be built into the routine.

The adoption of new patterns lagged far behind newly acquired understanding. The reluctance to use American patterns of speech is a case in point. Although each of the first-generation students showed great curiosity about the meaning of particular slang words, we heard none of them actually experiment with colloquialisms. Moreover, there were no marked improvements in their use of English; even those who arrived with excellent command of the language failed to rid themselves of linguistic quirks. There was in fact some resistance to doing so on the grounds that they spoke British English and American English was regarded as a somewhat inferior dialect. Those at the lower levels of linguistic ability failed to improve.

In this connection it might be noted that bilingualism allowed them a peculiar type of withdrawal. Much more careful research would be needed to explore this phenomenon adequately, but it is a common observation among those dealing with Indian students that the threshold of comprehension can fluctuate rapidly in a single individual. Such fluctuation is especially marked under stress when a student can carry on a conversation, speaking fluent, even eloquent, English while at the same time he gives no evidence of comprehending more than a fraction of what he hears. This sometimes convenient process is discernible in spite of the normally very high level of comprehension and linguistic flexibility characteristic of these students.

Second Generation. The second-generation students[1] sought more physical comfort than those of the first generation, and displayed a series of subsidiary roles and friendship ties. They had moved from rooming houses to apartments and university co-ops, and in general a more permanent life pattern was evident, one using more of the resources of the surrounding American community. Only two of them regularly ate Indian food, and then only at about one meal out of

[1] Two second-generation students are omitted from the discussion of life styles. Both were medical students and much of their time was taken up by their professional duties in a setting to which we could not obtain ready access either physically or through the interview materials.

four. There were no vegetarians, although all but one of the second-generation students had been customarily vegetarian in their eating habits at home. All drank occasionally, and two of them had started smoking cigarettes.

As a means of adjustment, routine was less binding. Among the students of the second generation, experimentation in life styles was the rule and in some cases the students tried to immerse themselves completely in the surrounding culture. They were acquiring gadgets: cameras, radios, record players, tape recorders, typewriters. Most of their wardrobe was American, in good if somewhat demure taste. They exploited the public entertainment facilities with thoroughness and occasional abandon. Movies, plays, seashore resorts, even night clubs were frequented to the limit of the budget, and radio and television were followed avidly.

The most striking characteristic of this generation is its alternation between two opposing trends: the tendency to become more American than the Americans while simultaneously reaffirming ties with the home culture. While their actual contact with home declined and they corresponded much less frequently and made concerted efforts to prolong their stay, at the same time they built into their lives nostalgic symbols of India. Reading Indian newspapers; the acquisition of extensive current information about India; attendance at Indian culture affairs and movies set in India; possessive custody of visiting Indian public figures; formation of close clique relationships with American students interested in Indian affairs; importation of Indian costume to be worn on ceremonial occasions—all were part of a developing drive for reaffirming identification with the home country. Alternately, the members of this generation sought to become as American as possible in dress, mannerisms, behavior, and speech. A sudden blossoming of American colloquialisms and slang appeared in the speech of the second generation together with a highly detailed knowledge of gossip-column chitchat.

Third Generation. Among the third-generation students daily living styles were again highly routinized, varying somewhat with the degree of withdrawal characteristic of the particular student.[2] Their plane of

[2] One third-generation student was omitted from this discussion. She was the wife of an Indian engineer resident in the United States. Her sex and her marital duties isolated her from the typical student pattern, and since she was the only such case, generalizations could not be made on the basis of her experience.

living was higher than either of the other two generations'. All the members of this group lived in apartments with cooking facilities. They had purchased furniture, household appliances, and decorations, and four of the six students owned automobiles. Except for one of the group married to an American wife, they shared their apartments with other Indians and used their quarters for frequent entertaining of both American and Indian friends.

The ambivalence in identification noted in the second-generation students is intensified in the third generation, whose members range in length of residence from two to seven years. They were instrumental in re-creating bits of India, importing Indian information films from the embassy film library, staging frequent Indian dinners, musical evenings, and dancing soirees. It is among this generation that the hard core of the Indian student subculture is found.

THE INDIAN STUDENT COMMUNITY

It is well to recall that an individual Indian student at the University of Pennsylvania does not face his problems alone. Upon his arrival, he is automatically a member of the Indian student community, heir to its accumulated experience. Without exception every Indian student in our sample had either arrived in the company of another Indian student or had met other Indians within twenty-four hours after his arrival. The Indian student community is larger than our sample. It has already been noted that about fifty Indian nationals live in and around Philadelphia, some attending other schools such as the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, the Textile Institute, and Temple University, while others are employed in business and industrial firms throughout the city. There are perhaps half again as many Indian nationals who are effective members of the community either as previous residents of Philadelphia frequently returning for weekend visits, or as intimate friends of individuals permanently resident in Philadelphia.

Individual Indians, of course, rarely associate with all members of the loosely knit community, and then usually on formal occasions such as those sponsored by the Indian Student's Association in celebration of some special Indian festival.

An instrument designed to measure the ranking of friendship choices and participation observation reveal these patterns of association: the first-generation students associated by and large with other newcomers,

the second generation associated freely with all levels within the University of Pennsylvania contingent of Indian students, and the third-generation students associated primarily with their own generation but also with other Indians not at the university.

The Indian student community, with its internal association patterns, provided the great bulk of the total associations for fourteen out of the nineteen Indian students in the sample. Three of the other five were rejected by the community primarily for reasons of personality and two had deliberately arranged their residences and life styles so that the majority of their contacts would be American. All five of those isolated from the community were second- and third-generation students.

The Indian student subculture has survived the passage of several generations of students, and is transmitted almost intact from one generation to another. It defines generational differences in role; sets behavior norms (being too American, being a playboy, being a strict, religiously orthodox Indian, being outspokenly hostile to Indian culture, isolating oneself from other Indians—all these are greeted with ridicule or ostracism); controls public opinion (a set of attitude-images of India and America, deviation from which is taken to indicate cultural betrayal of the homeland); provides a power structure as a setting for competitive struggle (a perpetual circulation of the elite with young chieftains becoming old chieftains to be challenged in turn by a new generation of young chieftains); supplies a fund of knowledge (lists of rooms available for Indian students, best and easiest courses, laundries, dry-cleaning establishments, transportation routes, clothing stores, restaurants, part-time jobs); and contains a set of material possessions (radios, wire recorders, casual furniture, pictures, books, hot plates, curtains, all passed down like heirlooms).

The influence of the Indian student subculture was strengthened by the tendency of the Indian students in our sample toward residential concentration. Living close to the university, they congregated within an area eight blocks long and five blocks wide, just west of the main campus. There were three main centers. The largest single residential center was a row house just off the campus, where during the course of the year of the study as many as eight Indian students resided in a single building, up to five at one time. The second largest concentration was in three adjoining apartment houses three blocks away. At one time, five Indian students included in the study lived in these

three houses. In addition, there were three other Indians not studying at the university who also resided there. The third center, five blocks further out, was a single apartment house; although only one student in the study lived there, three and sometimes four other Indians shared apartments in the building. All told, twelve of the nineteen Indians in the sample lived at one time or another in these three main centers of residence.

Although part of this ecological concentration arose from the necessity of living close to the university campus, the Indian community's folklore about racial discrimination and the students' desire for the support given by shared experiences promoted this residential pattern. The facts about residential facilities where Indians had been accepted were part of the Indian community's fund of knowledge, passed on to new arrivals. As space became available in these facilities, it tended to be occupied by other Indians.

It is apparent that the residential concentration of Indian students was integrally related to the development of a semipermanent subculture. It both reflected and promoted the cohesiveness of the entire group. As a result of frequent shiftings of residence and reassorting of roommates, it also reflected the association choices and friendship groups within the student community. A sociogram developed on the basis of ranked friendship choices almost exactly paralleled the division into the three main residential clusters.

The composition of the three residential groups was varied. The group farthest from the campus was composed largely of students from a single province, Gujarat. Although its members had all been in the United States for more than two years, its permanence as a core for the student community preceded the present membership. Part of its value to the Indian student community derived from its function as a kind of home country headquarters where identification with India could be periodically reaffirmed. A large collection of Indian-language records served as background music for regular Indian meals ranging from a sort of vegetable gruel to elaborate curry and pilau dinners. Special parties were occasionally held to which large numbers of Indian students in the city were invited. Several of the students referred to it as the "Gujrati Hotel." It is interesting to note that although this was the most homogeneous cluster, its Gujrati flavor did not discourage associations with students from other parts of India.

The other two subculture centers were composed of much more heterogeneous groupings than the Gujrati. They included students from various parts of India and cut across several caste, religious, and linguistic categories. The cohesiveness within these two groups was primarily due to physical proximity and the shared experiences of the different individuals rather than ethnic, religious, and linguistic homogeneity. In the middle group there was a student from the Marwari community, a Moslem, a South Indian non-Brahman, a Brahman from Bihar, and a Vaisya from the Uttar Pradesh. The group living closest to the campus likewise contained students from various parts of India and from Ceylon and Pakistan. Within these groups, there was no apparent clique formation on the basis of home country status.

Differences between the middle group and the cluster just off the campus were slight—the major distinctions arose from the fact that the former largely lived in apartments with cooking facilities whereas the latter lived solely in rooming houses. As a result the middle group members were able to entertain their Indian friends more frequently and could, if they liked, serve Indian meals.

There existed three principal meeting places where students of all three residential centers frequently met: the South Asia Regional Studies Department Library, the house of Dr. B., and the International House.

The program of the South Asia Regional Studies Department is principally concerned with the culture and current affairs of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. It offers both undergraduate and graduate courses. Most of its students are American candidates for M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, although an occasional student from India or Pakistan takes work in the department. The American students with their specialized interest in South Asia are natural intermediates between the Indians and American culture. Moreover they provide a willing audience for interpretations of Indian life by the Indian students. The department is housed in a separate building on the campus and boasts an excellent collection of literature on India as well as an extensive list of current periodicals and newspapers. It is a natural meeting place for Indian students, and it was visited almost every day by seven students from our sample and once a week by four, while the remainder used it from once a fortnight to several times a year.

Another permanent focal point for the Indian student community is Dr. B., an elderly, Indian-born doctor who has stood *in loco parentis*

to Indian students for twenty-three years. He is an American citizen married to an American woman of extraordinary talents. He spends a good portion of his income and time every year in assisting Indian students with funds, introductions, advice, and medical assistance, and represents them in their battles with all sorts of authorities. Mrs. B. serves as many as a thousand meals to Indian students during the course of a year, and the household is at the disposal of unannounced Indian student visitors at all hours and in all circumstances. Dr. B.'s viewpoint is consistently and strongly pro-American, an orientation he defends to the Indians with great vigor and at length. At his house numerous gatherings of Indian students take place, but the most frequent visitors are the medical students and the members of the Gujrati group. Annually he gives an Indian dinner at his suburban home at which he wines and dines more than two hundred Indian and American guests. To these gatherings Indians come from great distances, and he commands the cooperation of many members of the local community to assist in the preparations for the occasion. Recently Dr. B.'s strong influence on the Indian Student's Association has been a subject of factionalism within the Indian student community.

The International House was the only principal meeting place that provided contacts not predominantly Indian. Since the International House directly aids foreign students at the university, assisting them in housing and in making arrangements for visits to American families, it was a focal point for most of the Indian students from the time of their arrival. Social facilities include a dance hall, television set, kitchen equipment, reading room, and recreation room. Indian students often go there for entertainment when they lack other means of diversion, attracted in part because the whole tenor of the organization is geared to the foreign student. Twelve of the nineteen students went to the International House as often as once a fortnight or more, while four went once a month, and the remaining three from once to several times during the year.

The International House fulfills a variety of functions for the Indian student. Aside from recreational facilities, it provides the setting for several annual celebrations held by Indian students, notably the festival of Diwali and the Indian and Pakistani Independence days. On these occasions many of the Indian students, especially those who have been in longest residence, wear the Indian costume; the community enter-

tains guests with Indian dinners, music, and dancing; and sometimes films borrowed from the Indian Information Service in Washington are shown. The students who have been here longer and thus have more contacts in the United States frequently escort American girls whom they provide with saris, costume jewelry, and paste for the beauty spot placed on the forehead. As many as fifty Indians from the Philadelphia area and from New York and Washington, and as many as two hundred American guests, have attended such celebrations. An invitation to one of the festivals is a mark of acceptance as a friend of India, and failure to attend (unless one has a good reason) is regarded as showing a lack of sympathy. On the other hand, there is little respect for the American who tries to become "too Indian."

Individually, the students use the facilities of the International House with some regularity, often including the House in a well-worked-out routine of the day. They play ping-pong, watch television, read the newspapers and magazines, and some attend the regular Friday night dances. In spite of its widespread use, the prestige of the International House is not uniformly high. There is appreciation of its services, but a general feeling that it does not provide a representative contact with America.

Official contacts with the International House for the Indian students as a whole are made through the Indian Student's Association. This organization approaches the staff of the House to secure special facilities, meeting rooms and times, and the sponsorship of the House for affairs arranged by the Indian students. As the one formal organization within the Indian student community, it frequently becomes the arena for factional disputes whose roots lie outside the association itself. Control usually lies with the students who have been here longest, but periodically a bid for power by one faction or another seeks the support of second- and first-generation students. The association also provides the touch of student politics which is so necessary a part of campus life in India.

CHAPTER 3 The Student Role

IT MAY be taken as axiomatic that the Indian student anticipates that an education in an American university will in some way reward him in India. The anticipated dividends fall roughly into two categories. First, there is the general status enhancement which is the perquisite of any member of that select body known as the "foreign-returned." This is still an important consideration although the advantages of belonging to this category are no longer unequivocal. Second, there are specific values attached to an American education which depend upon the immediate career plans of individual students. These vary, and with them varies the type of student role created by the visitors. To provide the background for the first, we must step outside our interview material for a moment.

STATUS OF THE "FOREIGN-RETURNED"

Since the nineteenth century, those Indians who aspired to the few available high posts in the government embarked for Oxford or Cambridge to prepare themselves for the difficult Indian Civil Service examinations. Ambitious barristers sought admission to the Inner Temple or some other of London's select law confraternities; and many of these barristers formed the core of leadership dominating India's political movements. The sons of the wealthy, the landed aristocracy, the princes were sent to acquire an Oxon or a Cantab and polish in Western manners and speech. Many among the most conspicuously successful in India's rising middle class had studied abroad, which almost always meant England, and were members of a category broadly called "foreign-returned." At the lower as well as the higher levels in the stratification

system this identification ensured a distinct competitive advantage in employment opportunities and frequently greater social prestige even as measured by that most delicate of all indexes—high dowries.

Moreover, within India, since the time of Macaulay's blunt boast that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia," the indigenous educational system has been patterned after that of the English public schools and the major British universities. India's present educational system, above the primary level, is a close variant on the British model. A system so consciously derivative inevitably rewards those who have undergone the "real thing." This prestige was bolstered by the initial selection of individuals in the foreign-returned category. Frequently they belong either to the aristocracy of wealth or caste whose status was secure in any event, or to the brilliant and successful who were using education as a vehicle of upward social mobility.

With the passage of time a foreign education became a mixed blessing. As the number of foreign-returned increased, selection became less rigorous and a foreign education ceased to be a certain path to success. The ranks of the educated unemployed swelled as the number of government, legal, and other professional posts failed to expand sufficiently to absorb all those educated in the Western tradition. Concomitantly, the nationalist movement set off countercurrents restoring the prestige of Indian culture and stigmatizing those who remained in too close association with the British rulers. Western and Indian scholars, studying India's past traditions, language, and philosophy, gave the lie to Macaulay's judgment and reinstated Indian learning in the schools. This trend is increasingly evident today with the displacement of English by the vernaculars and Hindi as the medium of instruction, with the insistence that the government support the traditional Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine in the medical schools in addition to the Western system, and with the use of Sanskrit to complement the national language in providing terms for modern concepts.

Despite the existence of a resurgent cultural nationalism, foreign-returned from major British universities continue to enjoy a considerable competitive advantage. Even in the days of intense nationalism the excellence of British institutions of higher learning was usually conceded. The intelligentsia and the governmental bureaucracy are reasonably familiar with the English educational system, the ranking

of its institutions, and the nature of its rewards, so that a student's accomplishments there can be properly evaluated.

This familiarity does not extend to universities in the United States. Only a selected few of our universities are famous in India and our grade system is not well understood. Neither the coveted "all A" record nor proof of completion of specific courses is of any particular utility to an Indian student upon his return. The lack of home country recognition of the symbols of academic merit in America impels the Indian students to strive for degrees, no matter how brief their sojourns, and contributes to their thirst for subsidiary academic honors, such as scholarships and teaching assistantships (even when the funds are not needed) and strong letters of recommendation.

For instance, one student, committed to an early return to India, received almost perfect grades during his year's residence at Pennsylvania. His problem was to make certain that his achievement here had some effect upon his career at his home university. To this end, he encouraged his sponsoring foundation to renew his grant for an additional year. Since university professors in India are civil servants, such an extension would have required an additional leave of absence from his government, and he did formally apply for the extended leave. At the same time he wrote to several prominent friends asking them to exert influence to have the leave denied. He was granted a renewal of his foundation grant but in the meantime he had already set the date of his departure and secured passage on a ship. In due course his extension was denied and this drama of high intrigue was nearly completed. There remained only the task of inducing the chairmen of two departments in which he had studied and the foundation concerned to send long laudatory cables to his home government urging an extension of leave, while in the meantime he boarded the ship for home. He had, in short, dramatically impressed his employers with his achievements in the United States.

Other students, less manipulative or resourceful although equally insecure about their ability to capitalize on their foreign-returned status, put off the day of reckoning. This tactic, almost universally adopted, was to delay the time of return and accumulate more degrees to better secure their investment. With only two exceptions, both the graduate arts and the business students in our sample made concerted efforts to extend their stays, sometimes at the cost of personal sacrifice and a

gradually sinking standard of living as sources of funds from home became restricted. The two exceptions were a student who was in the United States marking time before an already scheduled Indian Administrative Service examination, and another with strong religious, family, and immediate career ties at home.

CAREER ORIENTATIONS

All the students in the study were enrolled in one or another of the graduate schools at the University of Pennsylvania. Most of them had come to the United States already committed to one of three distinct career orientations: academic, business, medical. A fourth, omnibus group (the uncommitted) included a student aspiring to the Indian foreign service, another to a career in journalism, and two students of secondary education.

1. Academic. Four of the nineteen students held the rank of "professor" in low-level academic posts at home. In general, the term "professor" in India is used loosely to refer to all college teachers who lack the Ph.D. or the LL.D. although strictly it should apply only to the topmost level in the academic hierarchy. The title "doctor" is an extra honorific, ranking the bearer above a professor. These four students were enrolled for M.A. degrees in arts and sciences departments. The fifth academician, a "doctor," took no formal course work. Instead he moved from university to university making personal contacts and seeking to remain above the student status. For the entire group, and particularly for the "doctor," the return to the role of student called for a surrender of a number of rewarding status prerogatives which at home had helped to compensate for the vow of poverty common to academicians in all lands. The greater permissiveness and equalitarianism characterizing American graduate instruction served to narrow the social distance between master and disciple and was an important element in reducing the severity of status shock for professors newly turned students.

Moreover, these academicians, having dictated scholarly standards at home, were sympathetically committed to the "higher values" of the campus. Excellence in course work was an unquestioned value, and their professorial faith in long hours and hard work kept them plodding through classwork frequently remote from any conceivable future utility. Lack of practical relevance was especially characteristic of economics

courses where four out of the five concentrated their studies. Detailed information on American railroad mergers, for instance, is at best peripheral information to an Indian economist.

The teachers' general faith in the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake was reinforced by their purpose in getting an American education. All the academicians were placed relatively low in the academic hierarchy at home. A foreign education was a potential career-enhancing asset which, it was anticipated, would either move the professor several notches above his peers in the educational bureaucracy or compensate for former failures to keep abreast of more successful contemporaries. All of them would have preferred to attend one of the major universities in England. Failing this, attendance at Harvard, Columbia, or M.I.T. would have lent prestige to an American degree. In some branches of applied economics, the Wharton School held a special appeal. Except for this, the name of the University of Pennsylvania would count for little in India.

As was noted above, it was up to the student to win those extra honors which would adorn a government dossier. The acquisition of strong personal letters of recommendation was a primary aim. So much the better if the professor who gave the testimonial had written a book widely known in India. A high grade average could be useful in attempting to win some temporary bureaucratic affiliation with an American university or foundation—an assistantship, fellowship, lectureship—which when endowed with an exalted title would be useful in the academic competition at home. And, of course, a degree was the minimal essential. These, then, were the stakes of the game, the objective symbols of merit, the laurels to be carried home for domestic appraisal. At no point did the academicians express feelings of personal inadequacy in professional competence which they hoped to overcome by their return to school.

For these reasons, the academicians spent most of their time with their academic pursuits. They took their studies seriously, and in general achieved very high scholastic averages. Grade averages for the four professors were 4.82, 4.41, 4.25, and 3.75 out of a possible 5.00. The "doctor" enrolled in no courses for which he received grades. All the professors won M.A. degrees. Each one independently came to us with a plan to extend his visit long enough to earn a Ph.D. All left at the end of a year's stay promising to return for the Ph.D. as soon as possible.

2. *Business.* Eight students planned to enter some branch of business. Of these, five were committed to a specific firm upon their return to India, while the other three were preparing in a general way for commercial careers. The contribution of successful mastery of a student role to subsequent career achievement is not so immediately obvious for the business students as it is for the academicians. There are a number of factors quite irrelevant to academic performance which determine success in finance, management, or other fields of applied economics. Nor is it altogether clear what the businessman in India desires from a Western education for his sons or protégés.

Several general themes run through the interviews, each of which is apparently influential in shaping the life styles of the business students. First there is the aforementioned virtue of belonging to the foreign-returned category. For those who expect to enter the competitive labor market an American education promises an advantage over their immediate contemporaries. This promise, however, is conditional. The lack of employment for the educated is extremely pressing in India, and every student tells of numerous highly qualified individuals who, through either the inefficiency or the malevolence of the employment system, have been unable to acquire jobs commensurate with their skill and investment. For those going into family concerns, their American experience is expected to produce tangible improvement in business skills, improvements which should not vary too widely from the practices employed by successful Indian businessmen. To both these groups, the achievement of a high level of academic success as measured by grades and subsidiary honors in America is of minor importance to their advancement chances on return. The uncertainty of the means-end relationship is reflected in the uniformly low grade of the business-oriented group. The median grade average for the business students was only 2.73 as compared with 4.33 for the academicians. All of them were working for a Master of Business Administration degree in the Wharton School, and majoring in one of the more technical subjects such as marketing, insurance, or transportation. The degree alone has the capacity for conferring success and the grades need only be high enough to ensure graduation.

The second major theme is the expectation that their American experience will provide them with business contacts to offer to business firms in India. The students therefore strive very hard to visit business

firms. One student had a list of over three hundred American businessmen from whom he had extracted letters of recommendation. In fact, the Indian students appeared to have more ready access to the higher echelons of our leading business concerns than did American students. The interest of an Indian student was apparently gratifying to American businessmen, who were anxious to boast of American know-how and who could make a gesture of good will without fear of long-term involvement. Moreover, the Indians seemed to have shown remarkable tenacity in their efforts.

A third general theme is expressed in negative terms. There is a fear of becoming too Westernized and too eager to transplant American ways into the stable Indian setting. One of the most striking conclusions of the Useems' work involves the resistance generated by the foreign-returned student who is eager to change his home environment into the image of the West.[1] To the business student this presents a special dilemma. On the one hand he anticipates that he will be obliged to demonstrate that his training in the United States has been sufficiently rewarding to justify the great expense involved; on the other hand, most of the skills he acquires can be introduced into India only if major changes occur in the entire economic and business structure. This dilemma is especially likely to face the student specializing in highly technical fields.

These three general themes provide an ambiguous and sometimes contradictory frame of reference for the business student from India. The institutionalized competition forced on him in his schoolwork does not materially assist him to accumulate social capital for his return, no matter how excellent the curriculum or his performance. One of the by-products of this ambivalence is that the student never quite feels certain that he has acquired enough merit points to take home with him. All these students prolonged their stay beyond the time when they had initially planned to return. Several of them remained in the face of severe family pressure to return. It is from their ranks that the semipermanent expatriates are drawn. The longer the student stays, and there were several in the group who had been here over five years, the greater is the necessity to produce credentials of recognition and achievement for home consumption, and at the same time the greater is the

[1] Useem and Useem, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 166–70.

behavioral alienation from the home country. When behavioral alienation is combined with continued attitudinal identification with India the individual is confronted with serious problems of adjustment. The effect of this syndrome on attitudes toward the United States will be discussed in another connection in Chapter 5.

3. *Medical.* Our sample included only two students in the medical school. The term "student" does not apply in the same sense for these visitors as for the rest of the group. Both of them had completed their formal training in India and had been in medical practice for some years. Their aim in coming to America was to further their experience in the technological research aspects of medicine. In their eyes, professional training and practice in India are equal to training and practice in the United States except where expensive technical equipment is required for a particular speciality.

The two students in the sample, both attending the Graduate School of Medicine, represent two different career stages and as a result two different orientations to the American experience. The first student had finished his medical education in India, served as an intern ("houseman" as it is called in India), and practiced for five years as a general practitioner. He arranged and financed his own trip to the United States for the specific purpose of developing a specialty in radiology for which the technical equipment was not available in India. With this purpose in mind, he came directly to the University of Pennsylvania and was content to take course work followed by a residency—the normal pattern for an American graduate medical specialist. The training, then, fit his own expectations, served his career ends, and was in accord with the general framework of anticipated American superiority in technological medicine.

The other student was already a specialist in India. A pathologist, he came to America "just to see what they are doing here, their methods of approach in certain subjects, how they carry on their research work, how they organize teaching, how the hospitals have been organized." As one of a group of ten doctors selected by the Indian Medical Association to come to the United States, he traveled on a visitor's rather than a student's visa. Inasmuch as the association had completed arrangements to have these men join the staffs of several hospitals in an American city, all these highly trained specialists considered themselves quasi-official representatives of the Indian medical profession. When they

arrived to assume the positions they were given duties of the type customarily assigned to assistant interns, with no opportunity for advanced training or research. Five of these men left their hospitals within six months, but since the immigration laws require the medical specialist to obtain a release from the first institution before he can move to another, several of them who could not secure permission faced the prospect of immediate deportation when they quite their original jobs. The student in our sample had managed to obtain his release and was able to enroll with little difficulty at Pennsylvania. Here he divided his work between advanced seminars at the university hospital and practice at the Philadelphia General Hospital.

The adjustment problem outlined above is an unfortunate by-product of a system of recruitment not uncommon among some of the smaller hospitals. Advertisements are inserted in the international medical journals inviting physicians from abroad to spend a year or two of in-training service at an American hospital. The consequent status drop for the foreign physician is severe.

A third career problem facing some Indian medical exchange students did not apply to members of our sample. In an effort to meet the problem of the critical shortage of trained medical personnel, India grants an intermediate diploma and a limited license to practice to a group called "licensed medical practitioners" (l.m.p.'s). This diploma is conferred after an abbreviated medical course which frequently fails to include even the most rudimentary training in the physical sciences. Some of these l.m.p.'s have enrolled in graduate courses in the United States with predictably disastrous results. Their situation is further complicated by the fact that some of their courses in India were in Ayurvedic or Unani rather than Western medicine.

The graduate medical students are too deeply immersed in their studies and job requirements to engage extensively in extracurricular life. Most of their time is spent within the confines of the well-ordered hospital bureaucracy so that they are confronted by fewer options among alternative adjustment patterns. Their professional status and duties effectively isolate them from general American life and, except for roommates, from the Indian students as well.

4. The Uncommitted. In India many students seek the B.A. for its alleged utility as a prestige device in obtaining a responsible administrative position in a bureaucratic structure they only vaguely perceive. If

they define this structure at all, they think of it as a branch of government. Ordinarily, attendance at a graduate school implies a firm commitment to a specific occupational objective of the type discussed above. But even at the graduate level there remains a residue of students who are uncommitted to a concrete career goal.

Our sample included four such individuals who spoke somewhat hazily about possible careers in journalism, secondary education, or perhaps governmental service. One of these majored in English, another in education, and two took their work in international relations and political science.

International relations serves as the most common catchall for such students at Pennsylvania. This curriculum is attractive because the students are usually able to write their theses on some phase of Indian foreign policy, and moreover their greater political sophistication and the fact of "having been there" gives them a distinct competitive advantage over American graduate students.

The uncommitted group tends to share the pattern of the academic rather than the business group—high grades (a median grade average of 4.90) and the search for symbols of achievement in America. Their lack of firm home anchors makes for prolonged stay and superior accommodation to the American environment. Among this group are found those with the most frequent and most amicable relations with Americans. Their adaptability and good academic performance bring them a lion's share of the scholarships and fellowships to be won on the campus. Sometimes they shift from one university to another in search of the most favorable terms. A degree, usually a Ph.D., is their minimum goal.

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR

A description of the role of Indian students would be incomplete without some indication of the nature of their interaction with their professors. To elicit this information, we submitted questionnaires to thirty major instructors asking for comments on selected aspects of the students' educational experience including the classroom situation, informal interactive behavior, formal adherence to academic rules, and general academic competence. Only three of the questionnaires were not returned. Additional data were available because eight of the nineteen students spent a year in a seminar conducted by the senior author of this study.

Characteristically, the Indian student found among his classmates several other foreign students, but except for the special case of course work pursued in the South Asia Regional Studies Department, these seldom included other Indians. The students seemed to have made a satisfactory adjustment in their relationships with both fellow students and faculty. According to their professors, the Indian students usually mingled with American students before or after class and the replies also indicate that within the limits imposed by the impersonal atmosphere of a large metropolitan university there were an astonishingly large number of personal contacts between the Indian students and their professors.

In response to the question "On what occasions have you seen him outside of class hours?" twenty-five of the thirty questionnaires revealed home contact in addition to the class period. Typical replies include these "Twice in our home." "Once for lunch with my friends in the city." "Several times at the International House." "Often in the office." "He worked as a part of my team during the election return broadcast over WPTZ-TV." "Frequent visits outside of class." It seems safe to say that although the Indian students may not have received as much attention as they would have in a small liberal arts college, their relationships with the faculty were at least as extensive and congenial as those enjoyed by their American fellow students.

On the more formal level of classroom interactive behavior the Indian students apparently acquitted themselves well. The professors report that on the whole the students "cut" little and were punctual most of the time. They participated in classroom discussions "about as much as other students" and were commendably pliable in these discussions, as evidenced by willingness to "accept others' interpretations or to modify their own viewpoints." Moreover the Indian students made no particular attempt to saturate the discussion with irrelevant references to India, Pakistan, or Ceylon.

The responses to the item "What would you say was his general attitude towards the course and his studies?" were almost universally favorable to the students. Although there is some variation in the faculty's enthusiasm, such descriptive phrases as "excellent," "industrious and interested in his work," "attentive and genuinely interested" are representative of the responses, while derogatory comments of any sort were applied to only two students.

Although generally favorable, faculty appraisal of the academic competence of the Indian students is not quite so complimentary as their estimate of student attitude. Typically the rating "average" was assigned to students for such items as logic, clarity of presentation, grades,[2] and percentile rank. This finding is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that they were a more selected group than their American fellow students and in view of the excellence of their classroom deportment, but there can be little doubt that such cultural factors as linguistic difficulty and lack of familiarity with instructional procedures in some cases acted as limiting influences.

From informal conversations with a number of professors we gained the distinct impression that although the faculty's reactions and behavior varied considerably in this respect, foreign students were treated somewhat more leniently than their American counterparts in the assignment of grades.

In its treatment of the mediocre American graduate student, the academic environment typically makes many exceptions, each professor half hoping that an accumulation of these intermediate crises will painlessly remove the student from the scene. The same process goes on with foreign students, but since their term is so definite and since their primary purpose in being here is academic, the foreign students do not obligingly fade away. It is primarily for this reason that special considerations are frequently given.

Another factor of some importance contributing to lenient treatment is that a vague and generalized desire to promote international amity can induce a certain self-consciousness in dealing with foreign students. As a consequence, so long as the Indian students seriously refrained from violating the conventional academic taboos, the professors were disposed to be especially helpful.[3]

THE PATTERN OF STUDY

The interview data are consistent in their revelation of a rational, calculated pattern of study in which the students are uniformly eager to make the most of their opportunity in the United States. The common patterns that emerge from students' accounts of their scholarly activity

[2] The questionnaire was administered in the middle of a semester. The college teachers generally received better grades than the questionnaires indicated.

[3] The Useems comment (pp. 208–9) that Indian officials are critical of American leniency with foreign students.

indicate such a high degree of dedication and so much assiduous application that it would seem almost appropriate to refer to the "Protestant ethic" with respect to these representatives of Buddhist, Hindu, and Moslem cultures were it not for the fact that they are likewise engaged in pursuing the ideal of the "whole man," an aspiration that requires some attention to the achievement of versatility, recreation, and leisure. All these themes are illustrated in the following excerpts from the account of a typical day by one of the most able of our subjects.

The [radio] dial, it is fixed at one place, and I know it will give news at 7:30. So my schedule is very much like this, I get up at seven. Then, after brushing my teeth and attending to nature's call I take a little exercise. Then I put the radio on after exercise. Just for five or ten minutes I lie down, we call it recreation pose, completely relax, and I listen to the radio at that time. Just have my breakfast. All this take me two hours, which I think would be considered very uneconomic by the standards here. You are supposed to finish everything in a half hour, but this takes two hours . . .

The Abbots' dairyman supplies me with a quart of milk, some Wheaties, about an ounce, and two oranges. This is my breakfast. It costs me only twenty-five cents. And then from nine to twelve I am probably in the library, the main library, except on Saturday when I have got classes. Sometimes I try to stretch it up to one even but it is not always possible. Sometimes I get hungry, sometimes I am anxious for my mail, letters from home or some such thing happens. I break at twelve, then I have my lunch. Nowadays I am having it invariably at Horn and Hardart because I don't think cooking is very economical for a single person. Again then I am free from meals. After mealtime I come to South Asia [Department], read the summary of the news in the New York *Times* and if there are any Indian papers there. Then about 2 or 2:30 I again go to the library. If I have classes I hardly get one hour or half hour—if I don't have classes I continue until six. At six I go home again. I have a habit of attending to nature's call in the evening and then go straight to International House for one hour. I will try to get into the ping-pong room as soon as possible and play for half an hour and finish. Sometimes the space is occupied and we have to wait and watch the TV. I am not interested in TV as such, but just a sort of waiting period. And I come back about 7:30 and go to Horn and Hardart and eat and then—I generally try to take my meals with somebody, either Mr. ——— or Dr. ——— and then I will just chat for a while and start to study again at 8:30 or nine and continue until eleven . . .

I take the book that is assigned and before I begin the assignment

I familiarize myself with the book, going through the preface and if there is something about the author and all that and it takes me about thirty minutes or so, but I doubt whether it is useful at all. Then I start with the assignment and go through it. My speed isn't very—ten pages in one hour. I cannot read more than ten pages. Sometimes there are mathematical formulae, very small, maybe even four pages, five pages. Then, having read it I generally leave it and on the second setting I come and take down the notes on the typewriter. At the time of the reading I just put a small red dot in the margins of the significant sentence. Then I note it down so at the second time it gives me the chance of revising the assignment. Then I never touch the book again, then I depend upon my notes that I have taken and if I am not lagging behind, I get a chance to read them once or twice before the examination and retain them as much as possible in my mind. . . .

I generally sleep at eleven, so that I get eight hours of study and eight hours of sleep, eight hours fun everyday. . . .

Few of the students reach this level of ascetic dedication to education, but it is an admired pattern, and one to which the Indian student turns in academic crises. There is not the stigma attached to constant application to studies that might be found among American students, where the label "grind" involves a sort of excommunication from social intercourse. More of the Indian students come close to this ideal than would be found among any sampling of American graduate students. The rigid routine of study is a concomitant of the high value set on rote memorization by the Indian culture. It is also one kind of withdrawal whereby adjustment difficulties are lost in a formalized structure.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The appraisal of American education by the Indian students seems to have been markedly influenced by one stereotyped conception—apparently widely held—of the nature of America's contribution to world culture. According to this view, national intellectual talents are distributed dichotomously so that any single country is likely to excel either in "theory" or in "application," but not in both. The United States presumably falls in the latter category, and as a people Americans are supposedly more gifted as skillful technicians and as adroit improvisers and organizers than they are as contributors to the truly creative intellectual achievements. The industrial plant is allegedly more congenial to our landscape than the Gothic Ivory Tower and the assembly

line rather than "The Thinker" is represented as the formidable symbol of our ingenuity.

This view is firmly held by the majority of the Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania; and as a part of the larger institutional structure, the American university is said to reflect the same national virtues and deficiencies. Consequently, those students who came to the United States to study in one of the applied fields are pleased to be studying in an American university and are satisfied that they are the beneficiaries of the best available instruction, while others who are interested in pursuing work in the arts or in the social sciences would have preferred to attend British educational institutions whose special genius is said to be the inculcation of the more catholic humanistic qualities. One subject succinctly summarized the view of his compatriots: "I feel that for humanities and social sciences and so on I would have gone to Oxford or Cambridge but for technical and other advanced scientific techniques, America has got the greater preference for engineering, for instance, or medicine. But people going for history or political science or literature, etc., they prefer to go to England."

This perspective is apparently nourished by a desire to avoid direct comparisons of excellence between American and Indian institutions of higher learning. If, as asserted, Indian universities are in the British tradition of broad liberal arts training while all but a few American universities emphasize more prosaic techniques and skills, then there can be no common yardstick which can reasonably be applied to both. Furthermore, American achievements can then be directly traced to the fortuitous circumstances of technology and wealth which are necessary for certain advanced techniques of instruction especially in such fields as medicine. According to one representative statement by a medical student, "We have got good standards but we haven't got the stuff which you have got."

In view of the feeling that much that separates Indian and American education is a result of the capricious circumstance of superior wealth, Indian students are sometimes understandably disturbed by what they consider to be the unwarranted arrogance and intellectual provincialism of certain representatives of the American educational system. Their protest is directed against discriminatory practices on the purely administrative level in the extension of credits for work done in their home country. But even when the students hold no specific grievances against

the formal administrative mechanism they are likely to deplore the customarily "narrow" Western orientation that distinguishes course content. For sufficient historical reason it seems to be true that most American professors are not particularly conversant with the history, science, or art of Asia in general or India specifically. The American scholar may quote Auden to emphasize a point in a lecture but he is unlikely to cite Tagore.

The Indian student is provoked by the fact that the spirit which informs the classroom does not seem to be the world view, that unless the course is advertised with an Asian label it can be anticipated that its substantive emphasis and its illustrative referents will be exclusively Occidental. From the standpoint of the Indian student the failure of American professors to indicate that they are aware of the rudiments of Indian culture, history, and contemporary problems is an affront.

The existence of the administrative and intellectual factors described could hardly be expected on an a priori basis to produce a mental set extravagantly favorable to the American educational system. Surprisingly enough, the Indian students are nevertheless quite prepared to concede that on the whole American education is satisfactory—on a par with the Indian in content and depth, and superior in certain phases of instructional technique and general pedagogical method.

The liberal philosophy on which the American collegiate structure rests is wholly congenial to the Indian students; at the same time the unfamiliar mechanics of American education do not represent a particularly difficult barrier to effective adjustment. Indeed, a great many specific skills acquired in the educational system at home are emphatically functional when transferred to the American university. There is even a limited sense in which Indian undergraduate instruction is more useful than its American counterpart in preparing a student for some of the most unpleasant hazards of graduate work in an American university. In order to demonstrate more fully why this is so, it will be helpful to contrast the salient features of the American and Indian educational systems.

The essential condition for advancement in the American educational system is the successful completion of individual courses. Good grades are an asset because frequently a minimum average above the passing grade is required for promotion to the next stage. Moreover, appearing on the honor roll or the dean's list confers not only prestige but also

more tangible privileges which sometimes include immunity from various comprehensive examinations. The course-credit system assumes a competent teacher, rough comparability of subject matter offered in similarly titled courses, and indefinite retention of subject matter. A system resting upon these assumptions is possible in an institutionalized structure where inspection guarantees minimum standards, where similar textbooks and other teaching devices are used, and where each student is confronted with a comparable series of obstacles.

None of these assumptions is operative to the same degree in the Indian educational system. At the lower levels, methods of schooling vary from the village school, with children of all ages grouped in a single class, to well-organized "public schools" in the British tradition. Because of the abundance of educated unemployed and the low salaries paid to teachers, tutors are also very prominent in the educational scheme. The diversity of the system of primary education requires that entrance into higher levels of training depend upon a series of demonstrations of competence rather than upon the acquisition of course credits.

Although some preference is shown to students who attend certain "prestige" schools, the most important prerequisite for admission to college is the matriculation examination, which stresses content and not aptitude. At the conclusion of his second year in college the student takes the comprehensive intermediate examination, and later the examination for the B.A. or B.S. These periodic tests which qualify the student to advance in the educational hierarchy are set by professors at the principal universities, with as many as thirty or forty affiliated institutions of higher learning administering identical examinations. The main effect of these procedures is to penalize the student who attends the lesser college inasmuch as academic performance is not judged by mastery of specific courses or by his rank order as compared with students in individual classes or schools, but rather on the basis of his ranking in competitive examinations with thousands of others.

In the Indian educational structure, then, the student moves through a series of clearly defined stages, each marked by the acquisition of a rank and the name of the examination or "paper" he has passed. An application for employment submitted by a product of the Indian educational system will characteristically include a statement of the highest "paper" he has taken and may sometimes include those he has failed.

Thus, in India, accomplishments before the attainment of the B.A. are respectable achievements attested to by the recorded results of the matriculation or intermediate examination. In the United States there is nothing quite comparable to these fine gradations of recorded scholarly attainment.

It is clear from this brief summary that the Indian student in the United States is obliged to make a certain number of adjustments to an unfamiliar milieu. In America attendance in class is either mandatory or necessary for survival; in India the pressure to attend class is comparatively slight, especially since most of the professors' lectures have been accurately recorded by previous students and are available in mimeographed form at college bookstores. But there are numerous compensations for the Indian student who comes to America. Unlike American graduate students, many of the visitors feel no compulsion to strive for high grades. As already indicated, grades are little understood by Indian officials or the public and add little to a student's prestige.

He is moreover freed from the trauma of the general examination. The semiannual or annual examinations in specific courses which the student finds in America are a strange but usually welcome innovation. The requirements are specific and based on his experience in the course. He knows the professor and can estimate what will be expected of him. Most closely approximating his Indian experience are the comprehensive examinations in his subject of specialization required for the M.A. or Ph.D., but even in those he is responsible only for his field and specified allied areas. And should he fail, he still has his course credits, in addition to the option of taking the examination again at an early date.

For many of the Indian students the most attractive feature of the American educational system is its greater permissiveness and opportunity for individuality. The heavy course load carried by the Indian professor and the pressure to prepare students for a standardized examination reinforce the tradition of the Indian classroom in which the professor authoritatively dispenses and the students passively receive wisdom. This characterization is not intended to imply that the students are not critical or intellectually active, but only that the classroom does not provide the setting for free discussion.

The Indian students were unanimous in their appreciation of the

American classroom atmosphere and instructional technique which might best be termed mildly "progressive." The elective and credit systems, the practice of interrupting lectures to ask questions, the encouragement of discussion, the self-conscious, benign democracy of the professor were novel experiences for most of the Indians despite the fact that a quarter of a century of dispute over these questions in the United States has finally robbed them of controversy and their *avant-garde* character. The following quotations from several students reveal that admiration for these practices is rooted both in value premises and the belief that this type of instruction is more efficient than "traditional" education.

The main thing that strikes me is that it is quite liberal, the education system. And by that I mean that your requirements are specifically suited to what you want to do—the courses. The second thing was that suppose you fail badly in one of the courses, which is very natural. It might be that it doesn't suit to your temperament or psychology or anything else. And then you are not held up for the whole year. And this thing pleased me very much. . . .

. . . we can ask the things. We don't feel that such silly questions would not be answered. The professors are very free. So we can ask those things. More things are learned by friendly terms than by bossing. So far as undergraduate study it is all right, but for post-graduate study it is not. Although in India there is not bossing. But here the professors are very free, I must say, and it is a very good thing . . .

The first thing that impressed me was the existence of what you might call social democracy in the country. The relationship that exists between individuals in this country I found to be entirely different from the ones that exist in our country. The relationship between teacher and taught . . . I found that here these people behave on the basis of equality. On the other hand, in our country, the authority of the teacher on the taught. Students here were encouraged to interrupt teachers in their lectures, discuss things, express opinions which were not in accord with the teacher's own point of view. And the classes were held more or less like discussion groups. . . .

The theme of "social democracy" recurs often in the favorable comments which the Indian students made about the American educational system. The single fact that seems to have impressed them most is the American practice of "working yourself through college." It seems to them to forestall the establishment of a hereditary intellectual elite, and

to promote the breakdown of class barriers and the emergence of government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

It should be pointed out parenthetically that those qualities the Indian student admires most are likely to be found in greater abundance in small liberal arts colleges than in large universities with graduate centers. As noted in Chapter 4, in almost every case the students were pleased with their orientation programs at such institutions, where the faculty is more "liberal," "international-minded," "informal," where the curriculum provides for supplementing classroom instruction "by experiences in the real world," and where the citizens of the community are "genuinely interested" in foreign students. This situation poses something of a dilemma. If one of the major objectives of the United States in fostering the exchange program is the creation of good will, then it would seem that Indian students should be sent to one of the smaller "liberal arts" schools. On the other hand to do so would conflict with the needs of many advanced students who can obtain the training they desire only at one of the major universities which are likely to be less "progressive."

It should not be imagined that all aspects of the "progressive" complex were approved by all the students. There was some feeling that the line between informality and vulgarity may be tenuous and that it was not always possible to distinguish the two in the behavior of American students. As one newcomer put it:

Another thing which I noticed that I don't like is the behavior of the students towards the teachers. From my standpoint this is very disrespectful. They will sit with their legs on the tables, say "Mr. So and So, how is this? I have not understood this." And they take too much freedom with the teacher . . . I would like more respect to be shown to the teachers and I would like to remain at a distance—respectable distance, rather than to become so friendly as to call them sometimes by their first name. Show a little consideration. The other day, a student was sitting on the platform and smoking, the teacher came inside, was opening windows and doing other things, and he continued to smoke and sit down in the chair. This would affront me if I entered my class and boys behaved like that.

The complaint of excessive personal democracy in students' behavior does not appear to be so serious a charge as the contention that free speech in the classroom is increasingly limited by restrictions on academic freedom. It would seem that in the ideological war with the

Soviet Union the United States has more to fear from being identified as "reactionary" than it does from being declared a nation of intellectual barbarians, an image which even cursory examination of the facts will dispel. Almost without exception the Indian students believed that in the discussion of some questions an atmosphere of excessive fear of Communism distinguished the American classroom. The following quotation is representative of sentiments frequently expressed by Indian students:

As I have already told you, this freedom has been greatly limited in the recent few months I think. Even the professors in the class . . . whenever they talk something they are always conscious of the fact that some committee is going to investigate or some committee is going to inquire. So they may be in difficulty. All the time they are conscious of the fact. . . . The *Communist Manifesto* is in our course. It is recorded as an historical document and if you read the history of economics, we have to read the *Communist Manifesto*, we have to read Marx. It is not that we agree with him. But we do not agree with many people and still we read them just to know what are their views. But whenever the professor gives the *Communist Manifesto*, all the time he emphasizes in class that I do not agree with the *Communist Manifesto*. I have kept it here for the sake of study. All the time they are very conscious that there may be some difficulty. And whenever anybody is criticizing the policy, the foreign policy or Communists, or doing something, or when we discuss the policy they say "Do not misunderstand me, I am not in favor of communism, but I want to say this and this." Well that means that I am all the time conscious that they are conscious of the fact of McCarthy or being investigated or something of that sort. So to that extent freedom has been limited.

The frequency of such references in the interview material is perhaps due to the dramatic presentation of the subject in the press as a result of the congressional investigations widely publicized at the time of the study. It is hardly likely that as much attention would have been devoted to this phenomenon now, when "McCarthyism" is no longer so prominent in academic conversations.

CHAPTER 4 The Tourist Role

WITHOUT exception the students assigned a high priority to the task of "getting to know America." Their initial contact with the United States was marked by a flurry of first impressions, often hastily communicated to home-town newspapers in India. In fact, the entire early phase of their visit was marked by a systematic program devised by the students in order that they might experience, and comprehend without delay, the totality of civilization in the United States. Not till later did their approach to tourism become more casual.

Before their arrival at their destination students whose visits to the United States are supported by Fulbright and Smith-Mundt fellowships usually attend an orientation center at a small liberal arts college where they are introduced to American life. Only four of the entire group had been processed through an orientation center, but in these four cases the students judged the adequacy of the experience by its contribution to their increased understanding of the niceties of the student role and by the extensiveness of the opportunity to act as tourist and ambassador. Centers were praised for providing tips on the academic folkways of the American university, and criticized for the areas they neglected. Requests by professors and organizations in the community for lectures on India were most welcome. On field trips to neighboring points of interest, the students took the opportunity to acquaint students from other countries with Indian divergences and parallels. Field trips and other carefully selected American experiences were subject to careful scrutiny, and students' reactions in some cases were not what their guides would have anticipated or wished. A visit to Tanglewood brought forth an indictment of the loafing sunbathers and picnickers who lacked appreciation

of music. The statue of Tecumseh at West Point provided one student with a "clear indication of the presence of Hindu culture in America in ancient days." A trip to Hyde Park produced notes on the guest rooms once occupied by the King and Queen of England. At the International Business Machine plant in Poughkeepsie, posted signs forbidding discrimination against Negroes served as the first confirmation of the color bar in the United States.

Orientation centers are specifically designed to introduce the foreign student to American life as painlessly as possible, and to protect him from the more trying consequences of cultural transition. They create an artificial setting in which initial culture contacts can be prudently screened and the impact of normal mechanisms of adjustment cushioned. It is assumed that painless adjustment is desirable for humane reasons, and that thus fortified, the student should be better able to cope with the manifold problems confronting him in his future university experience.

There can be little question that the orientation center does in fact provide a congenial setting for preliminary experimentation with the three dominant roles—student, tourist, and ambassador. But while our few cases obviously do not permit confident interpretation of the subsequent adjustment patterns of students who attended orientation centers as compared with those who did not, no major difference between the two groups was in fact evident. This is scarcely odd, for it is a giant step from the reassuring family atmosphere of the small college to the impersonal bureaucratic structure of a large metropolitan university. The time spent in a small liberal arts college orientation center is sometimes recalled with nostalgic yearning, which retards the student's acceptance of the altered conditions in which he must play his three primary roles.

The following sections consider the active role of the tourist as played by each generation and the content of the image of the United States formed as a result of contact with American life.

CONTACTS WITH AMERICANS

First Generation. During the first year any resources left once bare necessities had been provided were allocated to travel. If at all possible the students wanted to visit all the major regions of the United States—particularly the South, the Midwest, and California. They were espe-

cially interested in seeing the large dams and hydroelectric projects—that part of the American technology of most immediate relevance to India's development; the industrial cities of Pittsburgh and Detroit—the symbols of American economic strength; the stock exchange and Wall Street—the lairs of American capitalism; legislatures, mayors' offices, county jails, the polls at election time—the mechanics of American government; and night clubs and resort towns—the fleshpots of materialistic decadence. It is a rare Indian student who does not manage to see most or all of these in his first year.

The government dam visited by most of the students was the Norris Dam in Tennessee and this had the advantage of taking the students into the South where they could sample the climate of southern relations. Most of them also planned to visit Canada and Mexico and many of them succeeded in spite of visa complications. The route to Niagara Falls and Canada usually took them through Ithaca, another American center for Indian students. Canada strikes them as a nation in the middle stages of industrialization—a United States without the curse of world power. Admiration for the technological development of Canada does not carry the risk of approval of "materialism," the ethic allegedly characterizing the industrial system of the United States. Mexico, on the other hand, represents development problems similar to India's. The Indian student saw in Mexico a country still predominantly rural, with a low literacy rate, a variety of cultures, and an emergent industrial structure nurtured by governmental support and protection. Since Mexico has had long-term access to American technology, the Indian student felt that Mexico has already selected those aspects of American technique adaptable to an agrarian society. There was also some curiosity about the reputed cultural parallels between India and traditional Mexico emphasized by F. S. C. Northrop.[1]

The students also had a tourist pattern for "getting to know the American people." They were interested in acquiring what they considered to be a cross-sectional acquaintance with all levels of society. They had three primary sources for those contacts: American students, the International House, and Sunday dinner invitations. Each of these sources, they recognized, was highly selected. American college students they quickly identified as being a highly unrepresentative group living

[1] *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pp. xxii, 537.

in a "cloistered, artificial" atmosphere. They perceived the dilemma of the International House: although it can attract most of the foreign students, it cannot reach a corresponding cross section of Americans but must be content with an American clientele consisting of those who volunteer to attend. The foreign students are aware that many of the individuals attracted to the International House belong to fringe groups in American society, and often come from a lower social level than the foreign students were accustomed to at home. This unfavorable comparison, they feel, holds particularly for the girls, who seem to be seeking the exotic or simply the satisfaction of being in demand when they lack the assets to compete in the open market. Furthermore, the House attracted a particular type of American student, both male and female, who was interested in foreign affairs and foreign students. Sunday dinners with American families, usually arranged through the International House or through church groups, quickly fell into a pattern, and students who initially were eager to sample American family life soon began to reject these invitations as time-consuming and repetitive.

The selectivity of these contacts is apparent to the students and a source of regret to them. One of the items in our questionnaire on American contacts reads, "What groups of Americans do you feel you have not come into contact with?" The answers were uniform and stereotyped: "the working class," "skilled and unskilled workers," "farmers," "slum people," "Negroes," the "average American." A typical interview comment deplores the lack of contact: "Here, perhaps because I am preoccupied with studies or because it is a big city, people are more self-centered, more busy in their own ways. I even find that there is very little desire among the Americans to mix with us or to talk to us, aside from the few people who belong to church groups." And an official report written by one of the students for the Institute of International Education says, "Special cultural and other programs for foreign students should be organized to show them other parts of American life."

Second Generation. The students in their second year were almost entirely withdrawn from the International House, except for an occasional evening sponsored by the Indian Student's Association. They had become highly selective in visits to American homes, emphasizing "prestige families": industrial leaders, wealthy Main Line families, professors. There was a marked expansion in their contacts with fellow American

students both in frequency and intimacy. They were much more thoroughly immersed in the general student culture. They joined campus organizations, attended dances held by the general student body, shared American student entertainment patterns.

The tourist travel pattern was still in effect, although the majority had completed most of the circuit in their first year. Journeys to other cities were now usually for the purpose of visiting other Indian student friends. Trips to New York and Washington, one and a half and two and a half hours away by train, became more frequent.

Third Generation. The tourist travel pattern had largely disappeared among those students who had been here more than two years. Their trips to other cities were confined to New York, Washington, and occasionally Cornell University at Ithaca with a side trip to Niagara Falls, but in no case were these first visits. Each student had an elaborate network of Indian friends in other cities whom he visited and who visited him several times during the year.

Contacts with Americans were much more selective. Attempts to meet Americans at all levels seemed to have vanished and contacts with Americans were by and large restricted to a few American friends, continued formal participation in student associations, Americans encountered in extracurricular work, and sought-after prestigeful contacts who might be useful in furthering the career of the student either during the remainder of his stay, or upon return to the home country.

CROSS-CULTURAL IMAGES

In playing the role of local and interstate tourist the Indian student sought to extend his knowledge of all areas of American life and to add concrete substance to the vague preconceptions of the United States he had formed while still in India. It is inevitable that the image of the United States conveyed to the public in India should be somewhat selective and distorted, inasmuch as the Indian media of mass communication concern themselves largely with American foreign policy and neglect broader socio-cultural aspects of the American scene. Such information on the United States as is imported characteristically fails to provide a substantial corrective—neither the superficial frivolities emanating from Hollywood nor the excessively grim realities of the protest novel are capable of transmitting a representative picture of the United States.

The nature of this picture formed at a distance is illustrated by the preconceptions entertained by Indian students upon arrival in the United States—a stereotyped, indistinct, and limited image composed of uncorrelated fragments. They had anticipated that the United States would be a land endowed with abundant natural resources and wealth, whose inhabitants worked feverishly and constantly to command a whole host of mechanized wonders, whose cities were dominated by skyscrapers, whose ethos was scientific and rationalistic to the neglect of the spiritual, whose social relations were marked by casualness, rudeness, and violence (frequently institutionalized in the person of the gangster), whose social system was equalitarian except for discriminatory practices directed against colored peoples, and whose labor force contained a disproportionate number of cowboys. The students were aware that some of these images were oversimplified, bordering on caricature, but in essence these grotesqueries constituted almost the whole of their expectations.

A full analysis of the development of subsequent coherent images from this crude beginning would require at the minimum some account of each student's personality, life history, preconceptions, experiences en route and in the United States, and his anticipations at return. The primary determinant of image formation, as revealed in our data, seems, however, to involve a process by which American institutional areas are perceived and interpreted in the context of their relevance to Indian culture, history, and aspirations. This mechanism of cultural reference is operative among all students and is applicable to all institutional areas throughout the sojourn, whether images of American life are derived from the media of mass communication or from direct observation. Other personality and behavior dimensions not relevant to the Indian culture usually assumed their chief significance as superimpositions on this basic process. The emphasis of this here, therefore, is upon cross-cultural links; how the "Indianness" of the student affects his image of the United States.

This viewpoint is strengthened by evidence of a remarkable uniformity and stability of images. It was reasonable to suppose that images would vary somewhat from person to person and within each person at different times. Since the post-arrival images did not show this variability in spite of considerable variation in individual personality and experiences, it seems safe to say that the similarity and stability of

images can be attributed to roughly similar socio-cultural predisposing factors.

We have chosen four important areas of American institutional life to illustrate four different types of cultural reference which the Indian student brings to bear on his American experiences: family practices, political behavior, race relations, and religion.

The Indian student's perception of American family practices indicates the operation of two basically antithetical frames of reference among Indian intellectuals: the traditional family of India's ideal culture and the Western liberal-humanitarian ethic with its strong emphasis on the emancipation of women and the suppression of status inequalities. Political behavior is measured by the extent to which a given political philosophy implicitly suggests sympathetic kinship to doctrines justifying India's struggle for freedom and her current political policy. The perception of American race relations not only occurs within a context of historically rooted racial grievances, but also includes strong individual involvement arising out of the fear of personal discrimination and status deprivation. This image is accordingly much more complex, personality oriented, and subject to gross distortions of perceptions, than the images of family practices, political behavior, and religion.

The brief account of the Indian students' perception of American religious behavior is a striking example of a "neutral image"—the existence of a historical grievance counteracted by extraordinarily cordial American treatment.

The Family Practices. The comments of the Indian student about the American family system tended to cluster around three areas: the family's restricted function and interaction; the role and status of its various members; and the family's emphasis upon the gratification of personality needs rather than societal ends, with a resulting general orientation of capriciousness and frivolity in family institutional practices.

The Indian joint family is a unit comprising several degrees of kinship and several generations organized communally and usually living in the same house. It is an economic unit, a graduated status system with clearly defined roles, a vehicle for ritual and the observance of religious practices, a commensal unit, a dormitory arrangement, and a sphere of relationships within which primary psychological needs are met.

Family roles are hierarchically stable and clearly defined; reciprocal duties and obligations take precedence over individual motives. The effect of any act on other members of the family may be anticipated and therefore conflicts can be kept to a minimum. To be sure, intra-family clashes do occur, but many of these are institutionalized, culturally acceptable, and thus do not constitute a serious disruptive force. For instance, quarrels between the sisters-in-law and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a culturally recognized part of joint family living, even though the outcome is predictable and the victors never vary. These and other sporadic conflicts may finally be resolved by the final arbiter, the patriarchal figure. Each individual spends his life in some joint family. If for any reason a joint family splinters, it breaks into segments, but the departure of isolated individuals is seldom involved. The occasional mobile member, not essential to the family's welfare at the moment, can leave to pursue his own ends, but the price of his freedom is his willingness to return in the event of family need.

The joint family so described was widely admired among our Indian students for ensuring stability and performing most of the functions necessary to individual members, and for providing a satisfactory, conflict-free psychological setting. The admiration persisted in spite of the fact that none of the students identified his own family as fulfilling all the requirements of the ideal type.

In contrast to the satisfying and benevolent despotism of the joint family, the Indian students perceived in America a loosely knit structure providing for limited interactions and restricted functions. The simple quantitative fact of an American three-, four-, and five-person household limited to two generations provides striking contrast to the emphasis on the intimate relationships among the members of the joint family. While several commented that the complexity inherent in the interaction of many members is reduced in the American small family, they felt that the net effect is diminution of the responsibility, warmth, and serenity associated with the orderly relationship of the extended group. From the standpoint of the Indian student, there is ample evidence of the lesser importance of the family in American life: lack of elaborate family ritual at mealtime, restrained rather than demonstrative greetings at family reunions, the brittle casualness of the chic middle-class mother in dealing with her children, ready divorce, serial monog-

amy, and the increasing vogue of the psychiatric couch and the marriage clinic.

The Indian student is not likely to become sufficiently intimate with any one American family to observe the subtle interplay of "real" family relationships. Few American families can resist the temptation to display the "typical American family at home," a dramatization which frequently results in a caricature of the accepted norms. Consequently, the perceptions of Indian students tend to be influenced by consistently overplayed family roles. The specific roles which impress themselves most upon Indian students are the role of women and the role of the aged—those most markedly different from the Indian pattern. The traditional Indian literature, current folklore, songs, and moving pictures depict a vast number of heroines who embody an ideal role for women which is widely accepted by all segments of Indian society. She is to be docile, patient, submissive, a paragon of housewifely virtues, but at the same time full of charm, a companion, and wise in the ways of beauty. Above all, she should be modest and show continued awareness of the double standard by observing rituals of inferior status, and by exhibiting proper embarrassment and constraint in interactions with men. While in actual practice, of course, the woman's role in India is considerably more complex and ambivalent, nevertheless this ideal image served as one standard by which all women, and consequently American women, could be judged.

In addition, the Western liberal-humanitarian system of values, which is opposed to all immutable status distinctions, including those pertaining to women, has been internalized to a varying extent by all the Indian students. In general the inferior role assigned to women in India jars against the Western ideals of individual equality and greater emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed status. Indians apply the ethic of emancipation fully to certain isolated women—brilliant women in the professions, arts, and politics—and favor lesser commitments to emancipation with respect to women in general; for example, they disapprove of "cruelties to women" such as suttee, prohibition of remarriage, and dependence upon males.

In view of these contradictory philosophies—the Indian ideal woman and the Western emancipation ethic—the student sometimes finds himself in favor of the role-status structure of the American family when he perceives it in equalitarian terms, but opposed to the same charac-

teristics when he views them in the context of the ideal role assigned to Indian women. American family life is presumably characterized, however, by so strong an allegiance to the humanitarian individualistic ethic that it excludes cherished values still present in the Indian social framework and still held by our subjects. In the perceptions of Indian students, the American family is caught in the cross fire of an Indian value conflict. It would be possible to marshal an impressive array of quotations to illustrate this feeling among the students, but the following passage will suffice to show the attempt to reconcile the contradictory philosophies:

I might say something regarding the social life of the people, absolute equality among the two sexes and how the women also help the family by supplementing the income, how these ladies are also educated, they can talk on public affairs . . .

I mean it has its advantages to some extent, I thought, that the woman is independent and she can look after herself. If she has some work or something important and if the husband is not at home or nobody is at home, she could do it herself. Now in our society she wouldn't know what to do because she wouldn't have been taught.

I should say the freedom you allow your women, I was very much struck by it. I should say that in my experience it is more than what the woman deserves. Women we consider to be something delicate and feminine. She must distinguish herself in dress, manners, and everything, which is not the case here. She wears blue jeans and walks like a tractor truck. In that case I can't appreciate the femininity of women.

There were considerably fewer data indicating contradictory feelings concerning the role of the aged in the American family. All Indian students who had occasion to speak to this subject disapprovingly noted the comparatively inferior status of old people. As they recalled India, it seemed to them that ". . . there is greater affection and love between father and son, because there they regard that it is the sacred duty of the father to look after his son during his infancy and it is the sacred duty of the son to look after their older parents." By contrast, "Here we find that people have greater individuality, and they will not like the fathers or grandfathers to live with them because that interferes with the development of individual personality."

There was very little disposition to dismiss this particular status pattern as one of those inevitable cultural differences which are likely to

distinguish one nation from another. Characteristically, the student felt obliged to determine why the aged are relegated to an inferior status in America—the phenomenon was seldom mentioned without an accompanying analysis. Those students who were troubled by this question, but whose tact or approval of the United States forbade wholesale condemnation, struggled to explain it by appealing to the authority of some larger, more acceptable value, such as individual responsibility. More commonly, so fundamental a violation of what they considered to be a basic and universal ethical imperative implied deeper flaws at the spiritual base of the entire American social structure. The lack of respect for age sometimes confirmed the student's latent suspicions that he was observing a culture devoid of real ethical principles and dominated by a complete and all-embracing utilitarian complex.

The supremacy of group values as a governing principle in Indian family life leads the Indian students to consider as misguided the American emphasis on individual gratification and sexual compatibility. They perceive in the American institutional pattern an acceptance of hedonistic pursuits unrestrained by the "higher ideals" which alone are capable of ennobling the marriage relationship.

Critical statements included not only disparagement of American family values but also the paradoxical assertion that even individual happiness is not so well achieved as by the Indian model, whose social arrangements provide personal satisfactions only as a by-product. So even though in India, said a married student, "the marriage takes place before you are independent enough to think of selecting your own partner . . . I think I am very happy, and these marriages are generally happier than the marriages which are by choice of the partner."

Closely related to the contention that there are defects both in the dominant value system of the United States and in the structure of the family is a less clearly defined but apparently intense feeling that Americans as individuals have a common failing: they lack the proper high moral seriousness in their approach to family life. The Indian students discerned an element of lightheaded frivolity and capriciousness in courtship and family behavior. This view was sometimes expressed in the sternest moralistic terms, like "embracing and kissing and these things I take to be just the road for going into debauchery or the lack of morals." At other times it was contained in the assertion that the slightest irritation or weariness was apt to lead to divorce in contrast with

the Hindu practice, which forbids divorce in the higher castes, and where in fact divorce is largely unnecessary, "because the girl who marries a boy is very much faithful to the boy . . . she is always so much devoted to the husband and the husband to the wife." On still other occasions this feeling was implied in comments after the discovery of such terms as "boy friend," who is not, as one might expect, "that one whom she would actually marry, but she would at any time drop him too . . . if she comes across a better or someone whom she likes later much more, she would drop." Summarizing the viewpoint more explicitly is this comment: "I mean, to me it is not bad at all to go with a girl, but the only thing is that I think to go you must be serious. It shouldn't be just one of those things."

The reader should not infer that the Indian students perceive American family life as entirely uniform or that their reactions were wholly unfavorable. Questions such as "What are your first impressions?" or "What struck you most?"—inevitably present even in the most nondirective interviews—tend to bias responses toward generalizations emphasizing perceived differences rather than toward generalizations emphasizing elements present and approved in both cultures. The interviews indicate that the students are sometimes aware that although there may be customary patterns and practices that tend to distinguish the entire social structure, various social strata and groups in the United States exhibit pronounced differences in their behavior. Thus there were some comments on the greater simplicity, refinement, and spirituality of family life in religious homes, especially among the Society of Friends. There was also some recognition of rural-urban and regional differences. Nevertheless, the differences were perceived as minor variations on a common pattern, and it was the common pattern that figured in comparison with India.

Political Behavior. Indian students are much more attentive to politics than are their American counterparts. The political intricacies of a long nationalist struggle made complex political ideas and parliamentary practices commonplace knowledge among Indians. The visiting students are thoroughly conversant with the detailed histories of many Indian political figures and recall as part of their shared experience years of highly emotional political involvement. The Indian student's image of American political processes is best understood against the background of the nationalist movements that have engaged the

energies of Indians and other Asian peoples throughout the twentieth century.

The ideology of nationalist movements demands that the aspirations of the struggle include more than the mere transfer of power and authority from a set of foreign functionaries to their native counterparts. Slogans of liberation included more than opposition to "imperialism" and "foreign oppressors." They also promised that with liberation would come the redress of domestic inequities and grievances. Consequently the Indian intellectual tended to be characterized both in foreign and domestic affairs by intense humanitarian sympathy. Except for the special interest groups such as landlords and princes, there is now virtually no vocal conservative group in matters economic and political. Conservatism in India takes the form of urging the return to a pristine religious state. There is no significant segment among the Indian intelligentsia that feels the need to resolve the conflict between individual liberties and governmental planning implied in the term "creeping socialism." Among those who are politically effective the extreme rightist position is somewhat left of center on the American liberal-conservative continuum.

It follows that as members of the intellectual class at home the Indian students in the United States tend to respond sympathetically to political movements that seem to be dedicated to the interests of the "masses" and the "common man." They perceive these movements in terms of a symbolic vocabulary that makes generous use of slogans carrying strong emotional connotations in India. Their general approach is often supported by detailed knowledge. Nevertheless, the students are judging American political processes in terms of an abstract liberal ethic which is concrete and relevant in its reference to India, where political necessity at this stage of development demands emphasis upon nation-building, uplift of the masses, social planning, and an educated electorate. It is in this context that the liberal-humanitarian standard applied to American political life should be understood.

The images described below are brief composite summaries of common sentiments revealed in students' responses. Those portions outside the quotation marks are paraphrases of statements in the interviews; those within quotes are the actual words of the students.

Interest groups: Ideally the democratic process should give every individual equal access to power—the greater the diffusion of power in

a society the more nearly does it approach the democratic model. The United States deviates considerably from this ideal because there is "control by a party, rather than an individual—and when it comes to elections you have to please every boss. It is not exactly on principles." The existence of lobbies accentuates the concentration of power because legislative bodies are sensitive to the wishes of small groups that do not represent the wishes of the people as a whole. The small groups with the greatest influence are likely to be "financially strong interests" because they "can organize themselves better."

The one restraining influence on irresponsibly wielded power is the recognition on the part of the bosses and lobbyists that ultimate veto power resides in the people, whose dormant disaffections may occasionally be translated into effective political protests against the most cynical practices. This fact requires politicians to reassess constantly the limits of public patience and to make some concessions to the popular will. However, such restraint on the power of bosses and lobbyists should not obscure the fact that the American political structure is characterized by dominant power groups whose existence "is not consonant with the spirit of democracy."

Mass communications in politics: On the whole the American people are reasonably well informed about current affairs because they have ready access to information media such as the press, radio, and television. On the other hand, news is presented in a provincial and superficial manner, overemphasizing trivia and matters of local interest. Moreover, the media of mass communication are concentrated in the hands of the "wealthy section," who control public opinion for the benefit of right-wing political elements. As a result the universal literacy of Americans is not always a guarantee of a high level of information or of a considerable degree of political sophistication. The American is especially untutored in foreign affairs, and his ignorance of India is "no less than colossal."

Political parties: It is frequently difficult to discern the differences "between the so-called Democrats and the so-called Republicans." They do not disagree on fundamentals, and there are men in each party who seem ideologically to belong to the other. However, the Democratic party more nearly "symbolizes the close identity with the great mass of people, with the laboring class, with the farmers, with the Negroes . . . it symbolizes more a party for the common man than the Republican party." Likewise in the sphere of foreign policy the party of Roosevelt and Truman can be expected to be more ungrudgingly internationalist in outlook than the Republicans. The Republican party by contrast tends to be dominated by the wealthy and the powerful, who have an excessive allegiance to anachronistic conceptions of laissez-faire capitalism. If they pursued their own inclinations, they would transform gov-

ernment into a subsidiary of "big business." The type of candidate selected by the Republicans and Democrats for the 1952 presidential election was a good reflection of the basic philosophies of the two parties.[2] It is unfortunate for the United States that Mr. Stevenson did not become President, for his administration would have been more humanitarian and more germane to twentieth-century realities than Mr. Eisenhower's.

Political atmosphere of the United States: The predominant fact of current American political life is an excessive fear of Communism. "I mean, the fear of Communism, it is a sort of craze . . . I mean sort of hysteria in this country, and actually, as a matter of fact, I didn't think that this American society is being threatened by Communism. Communism can never ruin this society, I mean for many years to come."

Obsessive anti-Communism has unfortunate social consequences because in its name even gradualistic social changes are assailed. While the implementation of welfare measures under a government's aegis may depart from traditional capitalist practice, "a certain degree of socialism is healthy," or at least inevitable. However, capitalism modified by the New Deal philosophy as it exists in the United States is basically healthy and has produced "economic wonders." American capitalism is by no means decadent nor has it reached "maturity." In view of the essential soundness of the American socioeconomic structure there are no compelling domestic reasons to justify the prevalent anti-Communist preoccupation in the United States.

In foreign affairs there should be no fear of direct Communist military aggression against the United States. Moreover, Communism is making fewer inroads in other nations than Americans suppose. In India, only a very small percentage of the population is cordial to Soviet doctrine. Hence the existence of "anti-Communist hysteria" may best be interpreted as an opportunistic attempt to find a scapegoat, "something like Hitler or Pakistan," and as a capitulation to the most irresponsible elements in American politics.

The chief victims of the current political climate are "liberals." When even General Marshall is publicly maligned it is obvious that less influential men will be reluctant to engage in free discussion of controversial social issues. Militant anti-Communism constitutes as great a threat to democracy as do the few adherents of the Communist party. "I oppose Communism because it represents fear, curtailment of political freedom, and so on. I cannot see any difference between McCarthyism and Communism in this respect. It is, however, encouraging to see

[2] The fact that the interviews were taken in the academic year 1952–53 must be kept in mind in interpreting the interest in the political parties and the major themes of the 1952 election campaign.

that some of the greatest intellectuals and biggest newspapers are rallying against McCarthy."

Race Relations. The area of white-Negro relations tends to elicit images that once again seem to lie within the anticipated and familiar context of the liberal-humanitarian orientation. However, this element of the liberal syndrome differs from other expressions of humanitarian good will and outrage in the degree of intensity with which it is held, in the extent of the personal involvement it entails, and in the fullness of the students' preconceptions about this area before their arrival in the United States.

Most Indian students were not conspicuously well-read on American life when they arrived, yet a surprising number of them were conversant with Gunnar Myrdal's two-volume *American Dilemma*,[3] were shocked by its contents, and sympathetic to its thesis. Several revealed detailed knowledge of the legal niceties connected with the Supreme Court ruling then impending on educational segregation in the South, while one or two knew of isolated cases of racial violence in several small American communities.

Much of the intensity of interest and feeling concerning the role of the Negro in the United States is in part a result of the latent and sometimes overt color tension which lay beneath the surface of British-Indian relations before Indian independence and which still exists between Western and Asian nations. A more immediate explanation lies in the fact that of all the values incorporated in the American social structure the existence of discriminatory practices based on color was most capable of jeopardizing the status of the Indian students during their stay in the United States. Color was a potential disqualifying factor in the acquisition of desirable housing, in comfortable tourist mobility, and in the accessibility of desired social contacts.

There were in point of fact a number of instances in which students experienced situations that caused them to report personal inconvenience and embarrassment. One student was advised by an Indian friend not to visit a New York night club because he might not be served. Another thought that he was served in a restaurant with a separate set of silverware different from the type used by others around him. Still another sensed that he was giving offense when he "danced

[3] New York: Harper, 1944.

with a white girl." Such incidents did not occur frequently and are at best equivocal evidence of actual discrimination but they were constant reminders of the possibility of humiliations.

It is not surprising that certain individuals departed from an otherwise balanced approach to America to display a color sensitivity and a distortion of experience almost pathological in nature. To cite one of many examples, a student who was not selected to take a tour to Hyde Park sponsored by his orientation center gave this account of the incident: "There was a competition between a number of candidates for going to Hyde Park and there was a limited number of tickets. I went to the place from which we were to leave for Hyde Park right on time, I think before the time, but I was not selected for being taken. I don't know what criterion was adopted and, rightly or wrongly, it led me to the feeling that it might have been prejudice against the colored people since they are not taking me and they are taking people from other lands."

However, the greater number of the Indian students never experienced any manifestations of real or fancied discrimination because much of their time was spent in the company of fellow nationals, American students, and Americans especially sympathetic to foreign students. This circumstance may contribute to the fact that for the most part the Indian students' perception of race relations in the United States lacks anecdotal substance and is generally vague and in the form of symbols. The students were seldom indignant about concrete problems of economic deprivation, poor housing, and dirty neighborhoods; they reserved their most bitter remarks for "the white man's complex," "social discrimination," "white chauvinism"—all presumably artificial barriers to social intercourse unworthy of the American creed.

One may suspect that the alleged existence of the "white superiority complex" provides some sense of gratification for the Indian students. The recognition of what was to them an indisputable vulnerability in the American ethic seemed to mitigate criticisms of practices in India. If American treatment of the Negro is so conspicuously poor then it must follow that India, faced with problems of greater proportions, should not be condemned for her failure to solve them. "Negroes follow your dress. They follow your manner. I mean they are not much different. They may be inferior mentally in some cases, but they are not given an equal chance. So I said naturally you must take less time to

wipe off the differences; whereas we must take relatively more time to do away with the caste system. But we are progressing better than you have progressed."

Whatever the merits of this line of reasoning it appears clear that from the perspective of the Indian student an America which countenances differential treatment of the Negro must forfeit much of its claim to the moral superiority which should characterize the most powerful leader of the democratic West.

Religion. The treatment of attitude-images with respect to religion in the United States is necessarily brief, for this area occupied little of the attention of the Indian students. Nevertheless, several major points do emerge from the interviews. It is clear that of all the institutions in the United States, various churches, especially the Society of Friends, extended themselves to be cordial to the Indian students. There were frequent invitations to speak, and conscious attempts to be congenial hosts; from these sessions often ensued personal friendships of considerable warmth and durability.

As a group the Indian students were surprised at the extent to which formal religion played a significant role in American life. They had anticipated a society in which moral sanction would be sought from science and aspirations would be confined to the materialistic sphere. Instead, they found a situation in which "even coins" contained reference to God.

Nevertheless they found a lesser degree of "spirituality" in American life than in their own, presumably because of the too-sharp dichotomy observed in America between the secular and sacred. While Hinduism is said to be a way of life, in America religion, with the possible exception of Catholic practice, is "a matter for Sunday." However, the higher aspirations of American life could be traced to religious principles and the students were agreeably surprised by the extent to which these were invoked.

The one irritant they found in American religion was the exclusive allegiance demanded of Christians, based on the theological principle that salvation could come only through Christianity. This irritation parallels the reaction to evangelical Christian missionaries in India: a tension of long standing arising from the promotion of a Western ethic in an exclusive spirit that seemed to deny merit to the entire Indian culture. The reaction is today reflected in the Indian government's

increasing restriction on visas for evangelical missionaries. Inasmuch as specific proselytizing attempts occurred infrequently during the students' stay in America, the attitude-image with respect to religion in the United States was generally favorable.

OTHER THEMES IN AMERICAN LIFE AS PERCEIVED BY INDIAN STUDENTS

Although most of our materials on images of the United States deal with major institutional areas it is obvious that Indian students frequently organized their perceptions around certain "themes" [4] which cut across institutional lines and which presumably characterize in varying degrees the entire social structure. A summary of these themes as perceived by the Indian students follows.

Material comfort is a dominant value in American life. Americans devote a great deal of effort to the endless pursuit of money with which to buy good houses, fine clothes, home recreational facilities, and mechanical gadgets, but they devote a minimal amount of effort to seeking "higher spiritual" values. As a result they are compelled to work very hard, and behavior in the United States is characterized by a great deal of hurry and speed. Even leisure time is not an occasion for rest and contemplation but rather a period in which such mechanical contrivances as the automobile and the television set play a major role.

Americans are efficient and practical. Americans are a time-conscious people who are adept at "getting things done." On the positive side this makes for a high standard of living; on the negative side the preoccupation with accomplishing much in a short time sometimes produces a certain pointlessness and superficiality in life, and the goals of endeavor are obscured by the emphasis on efficient activity.

Americans are orderly. There are remarkable indications of self-discipline in the minutiae of daily living, a characteristic approved of by all the students. Large crowds attending sporting events or places of amusement are good-natured and peaceful. Passengers about to board a streetcar stand in line without instructions. Electioneering is accomplished by persuasion and argument is met with argument rather than with force. All this seems to be true despite the image of the gangster and the prevalence of brutality depicted in the movies.

Americans are informal. Americans do not stand on ceremony. There is a commendable absence of ritual in interpersonal relationships. Persons greet each other casually and they do not dress elaborately except

[4] The "themes" drawn from interview and questionnaire data have been grouped under headings which are roughly equivalent to the major value orientations in Robin Williams, Jr., *American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 390–440.

on special occasions. There is little insistence on formal recognition of status differences when people meet socially.

Americans are generally friendly. Americans receive people with a show of cordiality. Even strangers in the street will give directions cheerfully and they will enter into conversations in public places. However, this friendliness is sometimes superficial. A casual relationship seldom becomes a full-fledged friendship. In communication between people there is frequently lacking a certain warmth of understanding. The friendship tends to remain on the verbal level and it may dissolve when it becomes clear to the American that the new relationship may involve serious inroads on his privacy.

Americans are honest. There is very little evidence of petty thievery and dishonesty despite the fact that one frequently reads about them in the newspapers. The unattended candy stands in the corridors of the university and the unattended newspaper stands on the street corners are striking indications of this phenomenon. It may be that this is the result of a high standard of living in which very few people know genuine want; but whatever the reason, the prevalence of honesty must be considered a positive aspect of American life.

Social mobility is an important characteristic of American life. It is possible, even common, for a man to rise above his station in life by virtue of application. On the positive side such free mobility assures the maximum use of human resources in a society, while on the negative side it results in widespread discontent when individual aspirations are not realized.

Americans emphasize equality. Although there are doubtless gradations between rich and poor, high social position and low social position, these distinctions are not marked. Entrepreneur and laborer both wear good clothes, drive cars, own television sets, and have equal access to legal institutions, so that in many areas of life class distinctions are practically obliterated. The most striking element in this complex is the fact of the "dignity of labor." No opprobrium is attached to being a manual laborer and college students are not above "working their way through school." All this is very striking and admirable. A serious, conspicuous, and critical exception is the American treatment of the Negro.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which perceptions of major but segmental aspects of American life contribute to the development of an over-all "favorable" or "unfavorable" attitude toward the United States. But it appears clear that an over-all orientation to a foreign culture is more than a simple summation of discrete images. The next chapter includes a discussion of an additional set of processes involved in the students' confrontation with the Americans' image of India and influence on their assessment of America.

CHAPTER 5 ◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈ The Role of Ambassador

EVERY foreigner living abroad expects to be questioned about his country. Some welcome the opportunity to dispense "expert" knowledge, others find it tedious and perform the task out of a sense of obligation to host and home country. Each Indian student in our sample carried his own portfolio on a personal mission to interpret his country to Americans. He was an ambassador eager to speak formally and informally on his country's ways. His portrayal of India seldom varied: India is a country making rapid economic strides by its own efforts, a land of precious spiritual heritage, a modern nation with a moral foreign policy. He volunteered to speak at schools, to current affairs groups, at church suppers, on television programs. He told guests at private dinners that he would be delighted to give talks about his homeland. He wrote articles for school papers, sent letters of remonstrance to newspapers whose editorials criticized India.

At the International House, Indian culture was put on display at affairs often attended by several hundred Americans. Indian meals were served and the guests treated to official information films about India—*Folksongs of Chattisgarh, The Five Year Plan.* On the walls assorted photographs of Indian scenes set off hastily assembled bits of folk handicrafts. Even at dance and music programs, little speeches about India were heavily sprinkled through the proceedings.

Besides this role as active interpreter, the duties of ambassador carried with them the role of official arbiter—the duty of judging the authenticity of accounts of India that came through any and all means of communication. For example, on one occasion during the year an official of the Indian embassy spoke at the International House. After

his speech he was taken to task by a chorus of Indian students for what they considered the inefficient and inaccurate reporting by the public information office of the embassy staff. A speech by an American back from a trip to India (there was at least one such travelogue somewhere in the city almost every week) would be solidly attended by the student community. A post-speech caucus would thoroughly dissect the accuracy and friendliness of the speaker. Visiting Indian dignitaries were similarly criticized, with an added feeling of proprietary interest and identification on the part of the Indian audience.

This role of censor is an important part of the Indian student's self-appointed mission in the United States, and even when he begins to tire of making interminable speeches to fraternal organizations and grade-school audiences, he still actively pursues his less demanding job as critic.

The ambassador role, however, is not evolved in a vacuum; it is tailored to the image which the host country holds of his homeland. Very early in his visit the Indian student perceives an American image of India which appears to him to imply low status for his home country and by extension for him. When he encounters Americans who are admittedly ignorant of Indian affairs, their lack of knowledge with its resultant stereotyped conceptions is in itself an affront. And specific statements made by more informed Americans are likely to touch on areas of cultural sensitivity and be perceived not only as inaccurate but hostile as well.

The stereotyped image which Indians notice among Americans pictures India as an "exotic land" with the word "exotic" carrying distinct overtones of "uncivilized." Americans are people who reportedly "think of India as a land of magic and mysticism where sadhus live in caves, grow big beards, and sleep on iron spikes, a land infested with snake-charmers, lions, monkeys, rajas and maharajas"; or as a complex of characteristics associated with the term "underdeveloped" or "backward," including poverty, sickness, starvation, "teeming millions," prehistoric technological conditions, illiteracy, ignorance, and heathenism. Every Indian student interviewed mentioned the existence of these stereotypes and described them in almost identical terms.

While it is apparent that the Indian students resent the stereotyped conception of their country it is also true that many of them recognize that ignorance does not necessarily imply hostility. Ignorance of India

does not prevent individual Americans from treating individual Indians with special consideration and with the deference that is sometimes exclusively reserved for persons who evoke mildly pleasant overtones of the exotic. For most of the Indian students the greatest source of irritation is from those who have some pretense to knowledge about India. The greater the Americans' knowledge, the greater the Indians' demand for overt expression of amity. However, it is precisely those Americans who possess the requisite minimal familiarity with India who are most likely to touch on certain specific subjects associated in Indian thinking with colonial status and the nationalistic reaction to colonialism. These subjects, implied or explicit assumptions about India which Indians take as evidence of hostility, we are calling "sensitive areas."

AREAS OF SENSITIVITY

One of the mainsprings of defensive nationalism in former colonial areas is a reaction to the Western humanitarian value system that found the indigenous culture derelict. The cultures of the colonial areas measured against the ideal morality of the Christian colonists were publicized in the West as little short of barbaric. The term "native" acquired connotations of inferiority. The most striking of the contrasts between Western ideology and "native" practices were targets for reformers both alien and indigenous, and were used as justification for the concept of the "white man's burden."

The contrasts also produced hundreds of volumes of exotic travel literature, which when read in the West created the stereotype of the "backward," now "underdeveloped," countries. The same works when read by natives in the context of self-justification and rising nationalism were taken as severe and unfair indictments based upon unwarranted generalizations which misrepresented certain limited aspects of their culture. A case in point was the publication of Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*[1] and its attendant barrage of published retorts from Indian writers. The book's indictments were used, moreover, in numerous official surveys as the basis for denying a larger share in the government to native political leaders. As a result, certain subjects have come to bear the connotations of criticism. The mere mention of these subjects by an outsider, whether the comment or question is friendly or un-

[1] London: Jonathan Cape, 1927.

friendly, is sufficient to create strong antagonisms and defensive reactions.

During the course of our study we recorded statements or implications appearing in the American press or made by Americans against which Indian students reacted strongly. The areas of sensitivity have been classified inductively under seven headings—one central and six related headings. The list is certainly not exhaustive.

1. Indians are basically inferior. Westernization is superficial. India will never be the equal of the Western countries.

This is the central attitude identified with colonialism. For the rulers in the early days it lent a sense of justice and rightness to colonial rule. Later it was reinterpreted to become the prevalent view that the British were the proper judges of when India would be ready to govern herself, and that that time was far distant. Such attribution of inferiority is still the central perceived threat to Indians' self-esteem. It is the benchmark by which hostility or amity is measured. Easiest to accept are statements about "economic backwardness" and "underdevelopment," but even these are irritants. More difficult to accept are the statements implying cultural inferiority. Such imputations recall the long history of cultural imperialism wherein Indian customs were found to be "heathen abominations" according to the standards of the Victorian public school graduate or evangelical missionary. Today the Western position has changed to an implication that the indigenous culture makes impossible the economic development desired by the Indians. Close beneath the surface of these diffuse allegations of irreducible inferiority lies the race-color tension.

The full Western statement of this area of sensitivity might read as follows: India is backward economically and primitive in culture. Indians are trying to imitate and exceed the Western countries. Unless they reject their own superstition-ridden culture and adopt Western ways, particularly the American (formerly British) culture in all its facets, the likelihood of their ultimate progress is slim or nonexistent. Moreover, Indians are racially inferior and thus probably incapable of equaling the West in any event.

For the British colonial, therefore, Indian demands for national independence were misguided; and for the American jingoist, India's voice in international relations is undeserved and dangerous. Both look upon

Indian political leaders as retarded children playing with matches in a pool of gasoline, a privilege reserved for their elders.

The Indian attributes this point of view to Americans by inference from any one of a number of possible individual statements. Below is a list of statements which appeared in the press or which Indian students reported Americans said in their presence. These allegations stimulated negative reactions which often appeared disproportionate to the seriousness of the charge. To the Indian student each isolated statement was a confirmation of wider adherence to the more comprehensive stereotype.

Indians were not ready to assume the responsibilities of independence.

India was better off under the British.

In spite of her democratic constitution, India is a one-party system, governing a population which is largely illiterate, and thus not a real democracy.

There are no Indian leaders to replace highly placed congressmen like Nehru, Gandhi, and Patel.

The Congress is becoming corrupt like the Kuomintang now that it is in power and does not have the purifying effect induced by the reaction against British rule.

India's cultural heritage is not productive and must be replaced before development can take place.

India's religions are mostly primitive superstitions.

Education in India is far below the standards of this country.

The low level of education will never be raised.

Indians are basically not capable of reaching the cultural and material level of the West.

Indian development is dependent upon a continuous supply of American technicians.

Indian scientists who received world recognition did so because of their Western training.

The Indian languages are not equipped for modern technological development.

To understand each other Indians from different regions must speak English.

Indian women look funny in Western clothes.

Dropping the atom bomb on Asian countries is all right but not on countries in Europe.

In an Asian war, Asian lives should be expended before European troops are used to the fullest.

Each of the following six sensitive areas has as its point of departure

some facet of the larger stereotype outlined above. They are presented separately because they constitute relatively distinctive subclusters, each with its own set of connotations.

2. India is an undesirable place to live.

A definite part of the half-informed American's image of India involves the hazards to health that he expects to find there. A typical pattern for an American who has imminent or remote plans for visiting India is to tell his plans to Indians that he encounters in an intonation implying that the Indian should be pleased with this announcement. The American then proceeds to ask the Indian for information on how to protect himself from the imagined dangers to health and safety. This request is a persistent and direct affront to the middle-class and upper-class Indians who compose the student population. Some of the statements that invoke irritation follow:

India is a land of sickness and dirt.
Indian water is always polluted; you have to boil it first.
If you eat Indian food, you will get sick.
You should never live with an Indian family or you will get sick.

3. Indians have objectionable personal traits.

Attributing undesirable personal attributes to Indians is an obvious source of sensitivity. The statements listed below are a few representatives of an unsystematically collected list:

Indians have smaller physiques than Westerners, are weak and effeminate.
Indians criticize but can't take criticism.
Indians dress in loud western clothes like Negroes when they come to America.
Indians have little feeling for human life.
Indians are cruel to animals.
Pakistanis are easier to get along with than Indians.
Indians are unclean, have little idea of sanitation.
Indians are aggressive in groups but have little personal courage.

4. India is too divided to form a nation.

This is one of the most complex, pervasive, and difficult to assess of all the sensitive areas. At every point in the nationalist movement when constitutional advance was imminent the colonial rulers argued that Indians were too divided among themselves to form a responsible government; that what unity there was in the country resulted from careful

nurturing by the British rulers; that left to themselves the majority would shortly subjugate and oppress the minorities; and that this process would be attended by unprecedented violence which would dissipate the artificial unity the British had so slowly built. Therefore, the colonialists argued, the extension of representative government should be very slow and hedged in with elaborate safeguards for minorities.

The most important of the sub-cultural divisions by the British "communities" set Moslems against Hindus. An accumulation of hostility and violence that arose as a result of the incompatible aspirations of the spokesmen for the separatist elements among the Moslems and the spokesmen for a unified nationalist movement (mostly Hindus) made this issue of single nation versus disparate communities an extremely emotional one. The unified nationalists led by the Indian National Congress placed most of the blame for the increasing tension between Hindus and Moslems on the "divide and rule" policy of the British and upon Moslem fanaticism and intransigence. The Moslems, although they were in favor of special protection of their own group, also believed that the British were overemphasizing divisions in the society in order to maintain their rule. Moslem demands became more and more comprehensive until finally a separate nation of Pakistan was created. It is therefore little wonder that calling attention to divisions within India produces a reaction out of proportion to the immediate stimulus.

Since independence from Britain in 1947, other divisions have emerged to threaten the unity of the new nations. In India, linguistic regions have demanded separate recognition and reapportioning of provincial power. Inter-caste quarrels, always present, have been dramatized by a number of national events. Sectional differences between the north and the south have raised problems of administrative integration. For Pakistan, the division into two sections separated by a thousand miles of alien territory has lessened unity. These problems are frequently discussed by Indians and Pakistanis among themselves, but their very mention by outsiders is likely to occasion defensive reactions.

One important by-product of the Indian students' visit to the United States is the increasing solidarity that results from their joining ranks as members of an outgroup. Regional, caste, and religious differences, already attenuated in the university setting in India, become material

for jokes in the United States. Therefore, such recorded statements as the following were especially likely to impinge on areas of sensitivity:

The Indian government is not strong; it was divided into India and Pakistan and will soon be divided into north and south.

India was never one country until the British came.

India is still just an aggregate of separate regions and groups.

South Indians leave the south whenever posts in the north present themselves.

Indians are too divided among themselves to form a nation for long.

Moslems are being persecuted in India and Hindus in Pakistan.

Christians and Anglo-Indians are being forcefully absorbed.

5. India's social structure is undemocratic, inhumane, unenlightened.

There are many specific stereotypes about India summarized in this statement. For reasons that at present remain only speculative, the American's stereotype of exotic lands seems peculiarly concerned with cruelties and inhumanities. Since the holder of the distorted image has no particular stake in seeking greater knowledge, one or two publicized examples of events that outrage his moral sensibilities are enough to label an entire country or a people inhumane. This, of course, fits snugly into his picture of a semicivilized, inferior people. The popularization of anthropological data and internationalist approaches has reduced the number of direct condemnatory characterizations of other cultures, but the following statements carry a similar though more subtle appraisal:

The caste system is the source of most of India's trouble.

Indian widows live in misery and abject poverty.

In India there are only two economic classes, the very wealthy or the very poor.

Girls in India all marry at much too early an age.

Indian women have no rights.

All Indian marriages are arranged without the participants' consent.

Indian religion deludes the lower classes into accepting the supremacy of the rapacious Brahmans.

It will be noted that all the negative statements above call attention to disparity between supposed Indian values and the "American Creed."

6. The bases on which India expects acclaim from the West are false.

When Americans charge that India does not live up to her moral principles, Indians perceive that India is being accused of maintaining a moral double standard. It is bad enough to say that India's practices are evil; it is still worse to say that even those precepts cited as evidence of India's moral superiority are not carried out in practice. Worst of all is the accusation that practice is precisely opposite to the avowed moral creed. This last allegation implies not only defection from a set of ideals but hypocrisy. It implies, moreover, that the country has no claim whatsoever to equal status. At the political level, there have been numerous charges of this type in the press, particularly at those times when India has justified her stand on international issues by moral principles and has operated as an uncommitted "third force." Some of the statements taken from American sources are these:

Indians with a long history of rioting and bloodshed talk about nonviolence.

Gandhi was not motivated by spiritual dedication but by a drive for power and self-aggrandizement.

The independence movement was carried on only because the middle-class Congress leaders wanted to take the place of the British.

India talks of peaceful world solution while sending troops into Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Kashmir.

While Indians talk of spirituality, in actuality the people are more openly motivated toward materialistic ends than anywhere else in the world.

For most of the Indian people, the religions are little more than superstitions and animism; the philosophical systems are limited to a few top intellectual layers. Moreover, the present society is carrying on the tradition by rote. There have been no doctrinal contributions for several hundred years.

7. Indian population increase is a threat to the world; soon they will embark upon an exploitative imperialism of their own.

To many Indians there appear to be overtones to the West's concern about an Asian people's population increase not based on the rational argument that uncontrolled population increase is a danger to a national standard of living. There is some doubt as to whether the concern would be so great if the increase were among European peoples. Harsh reactions came even from students who were usually passive but who were pressed to resolve the oft-posed dilemma that improved health condi-

tions would lower the death rate in India and thus increase the growth of population.

The stereotype with regard to population growth which Indians believe that Americans hold of their country involves two different threats: first, that increasing numbers of a purportedly inferior race will submerge the Western peoples and lower their standard of living; second, that in numbers lies strength and that India has already embarked upon an imperialism of numbers. The statements falling in this sensitive area are listed below:

Unless India controls her population increase, her numbers will be a threat to the security of the Western world.

As soon as India is strong enough she will start on her imperialism.

How long can the United States give aid to a country which does not control its population?

India doesn't need Kashmir but she is trying to hold on to it. Kashmir should go to Pakistan because it is an economic necessity for Pakistan.

The creation of Pakistan was necessary—otherwise the Hindus would have dominated and taken advantage of the Moslems.

The Negroes in South Africa are really against the Indians and not the Europeans.

Indians are fomenting the Mau Mau riots in Kenya.

It should be emphasized that statements made by Americans need not necessarily be critical in order to produce a negative reaction; they need only fall within the province of forbidden subjects. The following excerpt from an interview is one of many which illustrate this tendency:

Many of the students ask that question, about caste, and sometimes I am a little worried about that. Even a small student, I went to a family I remember, a boy about 10 or 11, he asked me that question: do you have a caste system in India? I was surprised. I asked him where did he get that. He says our teacher in the school told him there are four kinds of castes in India and all that and they do not touch each other. They get some hazy ideas in the schools. Naturally, I was surprised that is being taught in the schools and they are told that they do not touch each other or something of that sort. Some of the boys also ask that question and many other people ask the question. Also, I have seen senior people, professors of the university, they ask the question: you are a Hindu? That question—I don't know why, but I feel sometimes if somebody asks me if I am a Hindu, I don't like it. I say I am an Indian. But I don't know why, what is really behind it, but when

ever I analyze myself, I feel that if somebody asked me you are a Hindu, I don't like it. I saw one day one professor and we are dining together in the Houston Hall. He asked me, I have seen several Hindus, they are good people. I was really surprised. What does he mean by Hindus. He is very simple, he doesn't know anything about that. He might be thinking that those who belong to India are Hindus or something like that sort. But I didn't like that, but I know many of the people speak in that way. "I have seen several Hindus," or "Hindus are good people," or "what caste do you belong to," or whether you are a Hindu or not, like this.

EGO-PROTECTING MECHANISMS

To recapitulate, the Indian student in his unofficial ambassador role finds his country and by extension himself accorded a low status in the eyes of Americans. Moreover, in his interaction with individual Americans he is constantly affronted by statements and questions which touch upon historically sensitive areas. As a result of these twin processes, he develops a set of defense mechanisms to protect him from the ego assaults which would result from an acceptance of the low status ascription. On the one hand, he devalues his perceptions of the American culture. On the other, in his ambassadorial role, he exalts the value of his own culture. In an analysis of the interview data six prominent defensive strategies emerged:

1. *The Indian student is skeptical about his impressions of America only if they are favorable.* When the impression is unfavorable the student states the view with assurance; if it is favorable he adds that his experience is limited and that he may well change his mind when he has had an opportunity to expand his knowledge.

2. *American practice is compared to home country creed.* America is condemned because Christians are intolerant; India is praised because Hinduism is tolerant. America is condemned for her politics; India is praised for her constitution. America is condemned for the machinations of the "Wall Street capitalists," "monopolists," and "big business"; India is praised for Gandhi's ideal of trusteeship in economic affairs.

3. *"Favorable" American practice is selectively interpreted.* For instance, one student came upon a notice on a factory bulletin board which outlined FEPC regulations. In one sense these regulations might serve as an indication of America's increasing enlightenment, at least on the official level. In a correct but selective interpretation the student

concluded that if legislation of this type was needed then anti-Negro bias must be very widespread indeed.

4. Experience is sometimes structured so that the Indian student can contrive to become a victim of American malpractice. In a wry, somewhat self-deprecatory account, one student after making a trip through the South reported that "I had been outside you see and well, I just went into a restaurant. All white people there you see. The servers were white and those who were drinking coffee or having breakfast were white. So I went there and had my coffee too. There was no discrimination or anything that I came across. So you might say I was disappointed."

5. American practices are judged in a contemporary value context while Indian practices are judged in their historical setting. For instance Negro-white relations in the United States are discussed in terms of how they refute the American claim to democracy and equality; mistreatment of "untouchables" in India is discussed in terms of the historical factors that produced the condition and the inevitable slowness of remedial social change.

6. American foreign policy is judged as if the United States were free to choose among unlimited options; India's alternatives are thought to be severely restricted. America is strong, India is weak; the powerful can elect to be perfect while the weak can be no more than human. As a self-appointed leader and world power the United States should behave more righteously than India which must make compromises in order to survive. An associated thesis is that a giver whose status is high deserves no gratitude but should give to the deserving needy as a matter of simple duty. This attitude configuration pertains to interpersonal as well as political relations and is an important part of orientation toward his stay here. It is deeply rooted in the Indian culture, having religious sanctions as well as widespread institutional and behavioral ramifications. Of course, it rubs harshly against what the student perceives to be a continual request for expressions of gratitude from the American who asks him, "Well, how do you like America?"

REACTIONS OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS

The pattern of sensitivities that we refer to as the sensitive-area complex was found in every member of the sample. Even Indian students who were almost wholly immersed in American culture were subject to

sudden resentments and defensive reactions when the sensitive areas were touched. In the more extreme cases, the perceived status assaults colored the entire emotional tone of their stay in the United States.

While these reactions were shared by all the subjects, there were variations of intensity within the common pattern. Our students may be divided roughly into three groups, those who experienced minimum ego assault (six students), high initial ego assault with gradual diminution (eight students), and continued high ego assault (three students).[2]

Minimum Ego Assault. It should be clear that the Indian student's reactions to the United States do not begin when he touches our shores. In fact, many of his reactions are not to the United States itself but to a generalized pattern identified with the "West." Whatever the objective reality of Kipling's division between East and West, in Indian and American minds alike a plane flying from Bombay to New York will somewhere cross the divide. The United States is the West par excellence.

It is interesting to note that all six students who experienced the least ego assault had come to favorable terms with the West before arriving in the United States. They had all had direct personal contact with the West in India. Five out of the six had attended missionary schools—four Jesuit and one Anglican; and in all but one case the students' fathers had held middle-rank positions in the pre-independence civil service. Therefore, each of the students had grown up in an atmosphere of family commitment to the West.

What they had learned in childhood had already begun their preparation for their trip to the United States. They knew intimately the occupational pathology of the colonial bureaucrat—the need to come to terms with being ascribed low status in a situation of enforced contact. Furthermore, five of the six students were members of ethnic or religious minorities (two Christians, one Lingayat, one Marwari, and one Moslem). As people who were partially alienated from the mainstream of Indian culture they were less involved with its prestige. As a result of all these factors they were better equipped to absorb fresh status blows without serious consequences to their emotional stability. The areas were still "sensitized," but the reactions did not color their experiences during their entire sojourn. Here for instance, is the reaction of

[2] The medical students are omitted from this tabulation for lack of adequate data.

one of the members of this group. He recognizes the negative stereotype:

Q. What do Americans ask you about India?
A. I think they mostly see it as poverty stricken, and they imagine also rioting and people dying in the streets and people lying about and things like that, most of the time, full of diseases and strife.

But he has little emotional involvement:

Q. Would you say that most Indians are sensitive about that stereotype?
A. I wasn't really very much sensitive against these questions, especially some of the most ticklish questions also the most amusing questions, if you might put it that way, as in the three or four schools in Philadelphia and naturally, I didn't take the least objection to it, because I knew that is how—I suppose that is how the parents have done their job, all these pictures about the riots and Communists, things like that being greatly displayed in the press and also the books that have been written about India until 1947 and that found a ready market, I suppose dealt with those things and I just couldn't blame them and I didn't feel at all hurt or anything like that. But I could imagine a situation where perhaps the questions might be asked some other Indian student, he might take stronger objection to it.

High Initial Ego Assault with Gradual Diminution. Eight of the students experienced a sequence of emotionality in response to ascription of low status and assaults on the sensitive areas. The initial shock came early in their visit and the reaction was intense. None of them had had any extensive personal contacts with the West while in India, but each was heir to a national coming-to-terms with the West. Just as an American learns his attitudes and expectations about Russia from a national political orientation, so in the absence of personal contact the educated Indian develops his attitudes by proxy. An Indian middle-class boy growing up absorbs a set of attitudes toward the West as he does toward major institutional patterns in his culture. If neither he nor his family has any direct personal contact with the Westernized portion of his culture, his attitudes may be blurred in content, but they are nonetheless clear in their hostile emotional charge. When he lands in the United States, a few personal experiences soon confirm for him the persistence of the "colonial attitude." In American eyes, his reaction is all out of proportion to the provocation, if one fails to recall the emotional charge that has been accumulated in India.

INDIAN STUDENTS ON AN AMERICAN CAMPUS

The following excerpt from an interview relates to a seminar on the development of Indian nationalism in which such a student participated. The seminar contained eight Indian and ten American students and the full faculty of the South Asia Regional Studies Department. The opening lecture summarized the events of 1947, the culmination of the nationalist movement, and the winning of independence. This was a time of troubles in India, marked by violence and bloodshed. After class the Indians sent a delegation to the faculty to object to the selection of 1947 as a starting point inasmuch as it emphasized the afflictions and divisions within India rather than its achievements. The interview, held at the end of the year, indicates the intense initial reaction and the gradual diminution of emotionality.

Q. In thinking back over the past nine months do you see any major changes in opinion that you had?

A. Oh yes, I think so. That has been great in my opinion. In the beginning, it was not very favorable I should say, and in the beginning it was not even favorable about the seminar. Actually, to tell frankly, I was not happy with the seminar work in the beginning, but now I am completely satisfied. I had some mistaken ideas. I was thinking in the beginning that in the seminar we are discussing the afflictions about India, rather than try to understand India. It was my impression, whether it was right or wrong, I don't know. It is just the impression I got in the beginning, that we are all the time trying to find out what are the differences, what are the afflictions in India, but now I feel that it is just an intellectual discussion, it is no question of trying to find out afflictions, it is an intellectual discussion to try to find out what is the actual position there in India. You know most of the Indian people are a little emotional, we have some suspicions, we have been greatly criticized by other people and we are hearing that other people do not understand us. They criticize us, and Miss Mayo, she wrote *Mother India*, like these things, all these and they just speak about India as tigers and snakes and all these things, so that impression always remains in mind, whenever anybody gives an honorable criticism, we naturally feel a little bad about it. We go in India and criticize a lot about—we criticize the government, we criticize the people, we criticize our religion, everything we do in our country, but if an outsider does that we don't like it, because naturally it is a foreign government.

So the same thing remained in me some time, in the beginning I was feeling that, feeling very unhappy. These people who are called intellectuals, who went to India and stayed there for some time, still they are discussing just the differences in India, and they

don't understand the real unity of something of that sort. I think in India in seminars we have done the same things, we should have done what are the differences, we should have done the same thing. But anyway, I was feeling about that but I think now I have completely changed in that respect at least and I understand the seminar there is no question of discussing frictions, rather there is an intellectual—there is a desire to understand Indian attitudes, so that is one respect that I can say that I have changed.

Continued High Ego Assault. Three of the students remained at the high level of emotional involvement and defensiveness through several years of residence. Two of these had had extensive personal contact with the West in India and had reacted violently against it. The third, before coming to the United States, had been effectively isolated from almost all Western contact, even with the Westernized section of Indian culture. Cursory examination would seem to indicate that in each case there were strong personality factors—insecurity and a high aggressive component—but the cases are too few to make even the most tentative statements.

The following is the statement of a student in residence more than three years. The excerpt is reproduced at length because it illustrates many elements of the sensitive-area complex: the perception of a sense of superiority in the Americans, a recognition of an American stereotype of India implying the ascription of low status, the impingement upon areas of sensitivity, the development of a protective image of the home country, and the seeking out of points of "weakness," i.e., sensitive, vulnerable spots with which to lower the comparative status of Americans.

Q. What sort of experience do Indian students run into that makes them bitter?
A. Superiority complex, talking with inadequate knowledge, and making positive statements.
Q. The Americans do?
A. Yes.
Q. Especially on India?
A. On India and Asia as a whole.
Q. What sort of things do they say, can you give me some examples?
A. Some of the snake charming and caste system and things which we ourselves don't do in our country. In our country, they are despised occupations, but due to British propaganda, for Americans it is something an honorable occupation for an Indian.
Q. Do you find most Americans are that way?

A. Well, they are taught from the beginning. I don't blame them. It is true, but still in the school they are taught it in colleges and when it comes to India, the caste system and all those things, without understanding even the basis of it or anything and I talked to so many Americans and most of it sounds familiar.

Q. Americans then usually ask about the caste system, do they talk about Gandhi?

A. Yes, but they don't know anything, except his name.

Q. Snake charmers and rajahs—do you think they have the British viewpoint on the nationalist movement?

A. I think so, because they have no information on the other side until recently. Now for the last two years, they have changed a lot. I was here in 1949, '50, '51. I had a hard time fighting everybody every day.

Q. What do you mean by everybody?

A. Most of the students whom I met, unless they were leftists, if they were middle of the road or rightists the way they talked. I can remember the day when the Korean war started and we heard ——, he was giving some lecture on what Russia wants behind the scenes and I went for two or three weeks and I was there every week with one of my other friends from India and I think we were the only foreigners, another Chinese, from India, so he talked about the Asiatic hordes and the way the Japanese used to go and kill the Chinese, during the Sino-Japanese war and how they ignore the value of life and such loose statements without—the colored people of Asia wouldn't allow white men to do business for them anymore, because they don't like it, this is the cause of the rise of nationalism since the war, some silly statement like that.

Q. Most of them critical?

A. Critical in the sense as if it was something wrong. Some people admit in the beginning, don't mind what we are saying, this is what we heard, then you don't get a bitterness but when they make some statement it makes it more bitter.

Q. You must get very tired of hearing these same things over and over again.

A. I have gotten used to it now. I know their weaknesses, where to hurt them.

Q. What are the weaknesses?

A. The Korean war is a weakness, so if you criticize them, it takes them right and left, just to quiet, I was arguing with one fellow, he is very forward type, outspoken, he was talking about Gandhi and the benefits of Western civilization to India and he says that Gandhi was Western educated and this is why you got him and this and that and all those things. And as he was talking I told him Gandhiji got out of lynching, so if you approve of it, let me know whether

you approve it, and at least we got Gandhi out of lynching in Africa, otherwise he wouldn't have been as popular as he was. Then he kept quiet.

Q. What sort of things do you think in these arguments with Americans they have as weak spots? What things do you think they are especially sensitive about?

A. Well, the defect in the Western civilization.

Q. What are some of the defects?

A. Well not defects exactly, this thing democracy and all sounds hypocrisy, when they talk of it, a few cases may be sincere, but then it's a different case.

Q. What are some of the weaknesses, would you say?

A. The Negro problem, when they bring out caste, we bring out the Negro problem—that hurts them a lot and anything in the sense of war with Russia, Korean war, if you justify Russia, if you say certain facts, the election, corruption in America. The corruption, corruption in the [the student was about to say Congress] I mean India, so I said what about Washington.

One of the aims of this group with its continuing hostility to the United States was to set the limits of favorable attitudes toward the American culture which could be publicly maintained by any of the other students. In association with other Indians in the city who were also long in residence, they became the focal point for reproducing bits of Indian culture in America. In the name of patriotism, they set the "line" for assessing each new development in Indo-American relations, and in general disciplined those guilty of cultural betrayal. The pattern is illustrated in the following statement by a member of this group: "The other day I told one fellow, he tried to be friends. He says I don't want to hurt the feelings of the Americans, I will only be here one year or two years, why should he. I said if you have that attitude you'll get nowhere, because they make positive statements without regard to anybody's feelings, so he also replied in kind."

In effect, the members of this group ceased to be ambassadors. They withdrew into a tightly knit friendship group composed almost entirely of other Indians and a few American friends who themselves were alienated from American culture. They had become censors, not representatives.

The role of ambassador, then, is at once a central and a complex one. Within it lie the crucial variables for service in the cause of international amity. Within it lie exposed the student's prestige and self-

esteem, partly at the mercy of a historical friction, partly dependent upon an international caste system wherein the Americans sometimes appear to fancy themselves the new Brahmans. Historical frictions take time to die. Meanwhile status deprivations lie like a shadow across the student's sojourn.

THE SENSITIVE AREA COMPLEX

Since we have argued that the process we have described is a function of sensed status deprivation, the sensitive-area complex should be common to all individuals who experience such deprivation as a result of conflict between their own and Americans' assessment of their country's proper status. Only the specific content of the sensitive areas should vary from country to country. For our purposes we may distinguish high- and low-status countries from the perspective of the American value system as follows:

A *high-status country* is European, has had a long period of national sovereignty, is well established as a world power, is well-known for contributions to world culture, has a stable social structure, has a population which is visibly and unmistakably Caucasian.

A *low-status country* is non-European, is a colony or has only recently gained its independence, has little world power, is little known for contributions to world culture, has an unstable social structure, has a population which is non-Caucasian or dark-skinned.

We offer the following interrelated propositions describing the behavior of nationals from low-status countries as hypotheses for future research. They are presented in semiformal fashion as a paradigm in order to achieve systematic treatment:

All temporary expatriates tend to identify themselves and to be identified by others as representatives of their home country.

The extent and the degree of this identification is enhanced when the visitor perceives

- that people in the host country easily mark him as a stranger because of the high visibility of conspicuous racial and behavioral differences;
- that there exists a well-established stereotype in the host country emphasizing cultural differences;
- that people in the host country ascribe low status to his country.

The recognition that low status is ascribed to his home country is likely when the visitor perceives

- that ignorance of his home country is widespread;

that his home country is ignored in contexts where its mention would be relevant;
that general statements attributing superiority to the host country are prevalent;
that individuals in the host country assume that the behavior of low-status groups in his home country is representative;
that there exist well-defined values in the host country which do not exist in the home country;
that he is subjected to treatment which he perceives is like that accorded to low-status individuals in the host country.

The visitor perceives hostility as an active component of the ascription of low status when contacts include frequent references to certain "sensitive areas," which derive their force from long hostile criticism of the home country, so that mere mention of certain subjects implies historical hostility. In the case of colonial peoples, these criticisms have been used as a rationale for the consolidation of power and are thus most readily imputed to a powerful nation.

When the configuration of high identification, low status, and hostility obtains, the visitor reacts in one or a combination of the following ways:

seeks the support of a status-rewarding subculture, thus isolating himself from large segments of the host country;
seeks to determine his relative status when confronted with intimate personal relationships with members of the host culture, attempting to avoid those relationships in which status referents are too strong and actively pursuing those relationships in which members of the host country treat as an equal or a superior;
regards as cultural betrayal the acceptance of the host country's judgment of the low status of the home culture and by raising the threshold of acceptance of the host culture;
selects, rationalizes, and distorts his reminiscences of the home culture, thus enhancing his assessment of the prestige of the home culture;
depends on a set of defensive strategies which bias comparisons between host and home country in favor of the latter;
undertakes a recital of home country accomplishments to Americans, explicitly intended to refute the American stereotype;
undertakes a counterattack on alleged points of American vulnerability.

In concluding this chapter, it is interesting to note that Useems' comment: "Those who in India were either critical or apathetic about social customs and the actions of their government become defenders of them in the presence of an outgroup. The vast majority of the defenders abroad report that on their return to India they drifted back to their

usual practices of indifference or criticism in the presence of the in-group." [3] Apparently once the individual moves back to his home environment, the ambassador role is forgotten and only the student and tourist roles retain their impact.

[3] Useem and Useem, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

CHAPTER 6 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ Some Implications of Research for Exchange Policy

IN HIS Foreword to this volume Professor Ralph L. Beals alludes to the work undertaken by John and Ruth Hill Useem for the Hazen Foundation dealing with Indians who had been educated abroad and who were living in the province of Bombay during 1953–54. Although independently financed, conceived, and executed, the Useems' study was viewed by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council as a companion research to the present study. Published in 1955 under the title *The Western-Educated Man in India*, it provides us with numerous valuable insights into the nature of the final phase of the temporary migration cycle—the crucial "pay-off" period after the return home. In addition to perceptive analyses of "changes in the character and outlook of the individual," "the use of foreign training in India," and "implications for international understanding," the Useems offer a number of cautiously stated recommendations which they believe should increase the effectiveness of the current student exchange program.

It is fitting that the major policy recommendation should come from those who have systematically observed the Indian students after their return to the native land. Action programs cannot be based exclusively, or even primarily, on the reactions of Indian students while they are still in the United States. The most obliging and articulate student, even at the port of embarkation, is in no position to reply adequately to the question "Now that you have completed your visit, how would you evaluate your experience in the United States?" The true meaning of

the American visit does not become explicit until the student returns to India and resumes his life in his own occupation, family, and community. He must internalize the new orientations and ways of doing things and refashion them until they are assimilable in the home culture. We cannot emphasize too strongly that those aspects of the American experience that do not survive the long voyage home are illusory gains—or losses—in the cross-cultural educational process.

We note, for example, that much of the effort expended by volunteer agencies is directed toward assisting the student to develop a satisfactory life style, a physical adjustment to his material environment. Easing the inevitable dislocations attendant upon coming into contact with a new culture is a worthwhile humanitarian goal in itself, but neither the Useems nor we found any evidence that ease or difficulty of physical adjustment, comfort or discomfort, was substantially related to subsequent adjustment here or after return.

Focusing, then, on long-term rewards, we confine our comments on implications for exchange programs to those areas which on the basis of the Useems' findings seem most relevant for the student upon his return. We approach this task with considerable trepidation; our cases were few, our primary orientation was not "action," and moreover we are mindful of the fact that the donor of advice is not a favorite character in our culture.

The two studies are not "parallel" in any rigorous sense. They differ rather markedly in the situations explored and the personnel studied. Our study examines the experience of 19 students from various parts of India and her neighbors who were studying at a single institution during a single year. The Useems' volume includes 110 subjects who returned from various universities in the West over a sixteen-year period (1935–51), half of whom had studied in the United Kingdom and half in the United States and all of whom resided in a single Indian state, Bombay.

If we place the two studies side by side it is clear that our study deals with a series of individuals who enjoy a high degree of anonymity, a temporary reprieve from many of the demands for conformity of their own culture, "one on the aisle" for a series of American tableaux often played especially for their benefit, an inexhaustible if uninformed audience, and an academic bureaucracy in which they are all fitted at roughly the same level. In the Useems' study we have a series of indi-

viduals placed at many different levels of Indian society, where most of the life pattern is dominated by factors other than the foreign-returned status, and where the only common characteristic among the subjects is that they made visits of varying lengths to diverse parts of the West at varying times in the past. It is inevitable that the Useems should have sought residues and recollections and that we should seek processes and determinants.

A general limitation of both studies is that neither dealt with a single cohort or employed standard sampling procedures. Nevertheless, neither study is essentially statistical and within each there are areas of high internal uniformity—high enough to suggest that general processes are in operation which the vagaries of sampling cannot dissipate.

As we have indicated, many of the Useems' findings deal with (1) changes in character and outlook of the visitor, (2) difficulties in occupational adjustment, and (3) contributions of the American visit to international understanding. At the risk of doing considerable violence to the richness of the Useems' data we set forth a brief and highly selective summary of their findings in these areas, emphasizing those which link our two studies.

FINDINGS OF USEEMS' STUDY

Changes in Character and Outlook of the Foreign-Returned. It is noteworthy that the Useems found that the most important residue of a foreign education was the change in the "character and outlook of the visitors": 90 per cent reported an enhancement of self-confidence, 60 per cent an enlarged vision of social life, 50 per cent a discovery of India while in the West, 40 per cent democratic ways of behavior, 40 per cent improved methods of working, 20 per cent improved methods of thinking. In general they found these changes to be in the direction of greater self-confidence, increased social perspective, and more equalitarian styles of interpersonal relations.

Interestingly enough, none of the students in our sample in summarizing his experiences or speculating on his post-return career spoke in these terms. They talked of transplanting specific culture traits, such as certain features of our educational system, and of changes in their attitudes toward America from empty or erroneous preconceptions to rich anecdotal impressions. In none of their roles did the students see themselves as basically changing; changes were reported only in their

perception of events—all external to themselves. Introspective self-realization seems to come only when the foreign experience is recast against the familiar contours of the student's own culture.

Difficulties in Occupational Adjustment. At home again in India the foreign-returned are confronted with two overriding problems of occupational adjustment: obtaining employment at status and income levels commensurate with their training and expectations, and adapting their foreign training and Western-acquired attitudes to concrete job situations.

According to data cited by the Useems on the basis of a "partial account in selected segments of Bombay State," approximately "13 per cent of the administrative ranks in government, 11 per cent of the academic positions in colleges and universities, and 4 per cent of the managerial posts in Indian-owned private enterprises are occupied by persons with foreign training." The lower representation in private industry is striking. The Useems note further that fewer than one tenth of the returned students ever secure full-time employment in an area for which they have been specifically trained. Those students who lack influence and must rely on their independent qualifications wait, on the average, for nearly a year before they are able to secure permanent jobs. Some American-educated students feel that one such "influence" is the loyalty to the old school tie invoked by British-trained members of administrative and academic selection committees.

Once he does obtain employment, the foreign-returned student is often disappointed with his plane of living. He is rather more likely to fall somewhere in the middle stratum of the middle class than he is to be paid the fabulous salary that may have beguiled his fantasies while he was still in the United States. Initially, and sometimes permanently, the American-trained student finds it difficult to adapt the "unreal" features of his education to practical imperatives of his specific job situation. This process, which is always difficult, is aggravated for the Indian student because skills and attitudes learned under conditions of Western abundance are frequently inapplicable to the Indian economy. In the special case of the teacher there is the additional psychological hardship of becoming accustomed to the highly standardized and centralized character of the Indian educational system after observing the degree of administrative autonomy and individual latitude enjoyed by his American counterparts.

Contributions of the American Visit to International Understanding. In their analysis of the contributions of foreign training to "international understanding" the Useems introduce useful distinctions among "factual knowledge," "comprehension," and "endorsement." Judging by these criteria the Useems conclude that:

a moderate gain in international understanding has been achieved through foreign training. The foreign-returned have a rudimentary grasp of the social forces at work and the motives of men in the United Kingdom and the United States. They have at their command substantial factual knowledge concerning the national character of the people and their styles of life. And, finally, even though this factor is the least significant, they are more sympathetic to the West after having been in it than they were before, and they are more sympathetic than are their associates who have not been in the West.[1]

If we supplement this general description with data derived from our study we are justified in stating some additional generalizations about the attitudes of the foreign-returned to the United States.

1. Substantive recollections of American life remain remarkably stable. Such aspects of American life as the open-class system and such attributed characteristics of the American people as "friendliness," "equalitarianism," "generosity," and "energy" which were favorably appraised by the students while still in the United States continue to be considered positive virtues after the students return home. Likewise, negative reactions to racial prejudice, "overemphasis on materialism," "superficiality of family life," and "autocratic" behavior in foreign affairs were expressed to the Useems in almost the same terms as they were to us.

2. The "American people," American national character, and "themes" in American life continue to be evaluated more favorably than the American social structure and patterns of political behavior.

3. Within the realm of political behavior American "democracy" on the domestic scene continues to be appraised more favorably than the exercise of American power in foreign affairs.

4. While the content of recollections remains relatively stable they may become subject to changes in perspective and reformulation as a result of the student's own ego needs and the pressure of opinion among his associates in India. The Useems remark that "most of those who were highly critical of Americans and their ways become defenders

[1] Useem and Useem, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

of America in India." Before the student's departure for America, he anticipates that his trip will enhance his "social capital," to use the Useems' term. During his visit, a series of mechanisms outlined in our study tend to predispose him toward a critical appraisal of the United States. Once he is back in India, however, the situation radically changes. A severe indictment of either the country he has visited or his own experience there is a devaluation of his newly acquired social capital. As the Useems show, the danger is that he will try to draw too much from that capital too soon after his return and alienate his circle of associates. No culture has much patience with the effusive xenocentric who is forever explaining how much superior are alien to native ways. The current course of Indo-American foreign relations is likely to restrict further the friendly audience available to a returnee and to limit the socially acceptable enthusiasm for American institutions.

Whether or not the preceding survey provides comfort or dismay depends largely on the value system of the beholder. Most of us are in favor of the best of all possible worlds; ideally the student should return from the United States armed with pro-American attitudes and skills so adaptable to Indian needs that a grateful public would feel impelled to reward him promptly with appropriate psychic and economic remuneration. The ideal is of course illusory, and the criteria of success are ambiguous. Are we to rejoice in the fact that the students altered their personalities even though they have difficulty in securing employment? Where is the social calculus that tells us whether in the long run Indian-American amity will be more decisively influenced by student admiration for our open-class system or by their disapproval of race relations in the United States?

In view of the difficulties of establishing priorities among these values, it is almost comforting to reflect that major aspects of the foreign exchange program are not readily susceptible to unilateral action by agencies officially or quasi-officially responsible for their success. The solutions to some types of problems depend on major changes in American institutional structure, while the solutions to others properly lie within the jurisdiction of the home country. Certainly no one is in any position to alter American family behavior, to enforce benign racial attitudes, or to curb irresponsible demagogues in order to please our visitors from overseas. It is equally obvious that no American administrator can

guarantee a favorable reception for the foreign student once he has returned home.

Let us hasten to add that the inability to manipulate important aspects of the foreign exchange program should not obscure the fact that in many areas no special action is either needed or desirable. For some purposes, the mere existence of the program, devoid of special adornment, is almost enough to assure success. For example, it is altogether likely that many of the desirable changes in character and outlook reported by the members of the Useems' sample are intrinsic to the "broadening" process of foreign travel and would occur irrespective of the specific nature of the student's experience or, for that matter, the country visited. Moreover, while the images of the United States retained by the foreign-returned will delight no American Narcissus, neither are they so hostile, disdainful, or patronizing as the most pessimistic among our commentators would have us believe. There is nothing in the underlying premises of the foreign exchange program to suggest that foreign students should experience only excellence; there is little in the Useems' study or in ours that requires us to abandon the proposition that our total culture can well sustain the unguided scrutiny of a visitor from another land.

However, to say that the successful administration of the student exchange program is related to wider social and political events and that these events are not subject to the administrator's control is in no sense a confession of futility. The Useems offer a number of plausible recommendations and we can supplement theirs with several of our own. Our discussion is confined to those areas in which our findings and those of the Useems are related; i.e., to suggestions pertaining to modifications of educational practices and to some comments on fostering international understanding.

MODIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

Determination of a Specific Length of Stay. The Indian culture shares with our own an epidemic "degee fever." The student is aware that in demonstrating the value of his foreign training he must carry home as minimum treasure the coveted M.A. or Ph.D. degree. At the same time he frequently finds himself under pressure to return—pressures from his family, his government, his future employer, and our immigration department. As we have indicated, such pressures are the rule rather

than the exception. The figure of the semipermanent expatriate polishing the fourth draft of a faded thesis is too familiar on our campuses.

The longer he stays the more merit he must acquire to justify his long absence. Meanwhile he is acquiring a new set of attitudes and altered behavior traits that may make his reassimilation upon return increasingly difficult. For this reason we urge that the length of stay of Indian students be set before departure for America and adhered to with some rigidity. Of course, no single arbitrary time limit can be set, but each case should be judged in the home environment and definite limits set on the time to be spent abroad. These limits should then be expanded only in consultation with the parties concerned both in India and the United States. The limits will seem less confining if the student's plans for the immediate post-return period are made before he undertakes the trip.

Issuance of Intermediate Credentials in Lieu of Degrees. Part of the urgency to obtain a degree comes about as a result of the unfamiliarity of the Indian public with the American educational system, its grading practices, and the comparative rankings of various schools. This situation could be partly overcome by the widespread distribution in India of a brochure summarizing some of these aspects of the educational situation in America. To meet the immediate need, however, the student himself might be provided with a brief statement about the college or university he has attended and the major course he has followed, to accompany his transcript. The same document could carry brief descriptions of any academic honors and distinctions that he has won. For Indian consumption it would be even more helpful if the grades were translated into the percentile standing of the student in his class. At present the potential Indian employer is likely to be confused by our unfamiliar and relatively nondiscriminating letter system.

Such a record would be comparatively easy to provide and would aid the student in providing intelligible symbols of academic success short of a degree. Since one of the major problems that faces the Indian student is finding the means of converting all his achievements in the United States into career advantages, this rather minor administrative reform might be of great value to him.

Inculcation of Scarcity Skills. The Useems point out that only a small fraction of the occupational training acquired in the West is usable in the Indian environment. We are, at present, perhaps the

least fit of all the countries in the world to teach skills useful for a scarcity economy. For instance, in American engineering training we frequently assume an abundance of material and a scarcity of labor. There is little carry-over to an economy in which material is scarce and labor abundant. In our business education, we assume a highly rationalized, organized corporate structure, a bureaucracy built upon individual competence and interchangeable personnel. The skills useful in such a business structure are of limited applicability to an economic organization in which noneconomic factors are of equal if not greater importance in the functioning of the business—and in determining the individual's chances for advancement.

It appears to us that there are now enough teachers and specialists available in the United States who have acquired skills in material-scarce and labor-abundant economies to refashion some of our traditional applied courses—engineering, medicine, architecture, and agriculture—to meet these special needs. These courses need not in any way be inferior to present offerings, but they must start from different assumptions of available resources and emphasize scarcity skills. Since it is unlikely that very many schools would have enough students from underdeveloped areas to make such courses worthwhile, a few of the major applied schools might undertake the development of such programs. Such training would, of course, be of use to American students who in increasing numbers are sent abroad at various stages of their careers.

SOME COMMENTS ON DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

American foreign policy emphasizes the promotion of amity. We spend large sums of money abroad trying to tip the scales of international public opinion in our favor. Our "information and education" programs direct their efforts toward presenting an objective picture of the United States—a school day in Connecticut, a farmer's life in the Wheat Belt, small-town democracy in action. We want not only our own way in foreign affairs, but also continuous reassurance from abroad of the moral integrity of our actions.

But we should not, and by and large do not, expect that the United States will stand as virtue incarnate throughout the world. Leaving aside the tendency of the American tourist to covet and solicit approval, our

foreign policy begs the more modest tribute of being understood. We pin our faith on the intrinsic merits of our way of life and feel assured that we will be admired once our faults and achievements are counterbalanced. Our consistent emphasis upon international understanding, our rejoicing in the expansion of the media of mass communication as a means of cultural contact, indicate our belief that the American way of life is a desirable and perhaps exportable commodity in the world market.

Whether or not we feel that other countries would do well to model themselves after our institutions, we are sure that if we are rightly understood the frictions and obstacles in the course of our national policy will lessen. The degree of sophistication or naiveté with which this belief is held may vary, but the premise is the same. Familiarity will promote understanding and understanding will at least soften resistance.

At the same time that we have become nervous about world opinion, the channels of information through which the world has news of us have changed radically. The governmental encouragement given to communications research demonstrates our growing awareness that mass communications media pass along to foreign audiences a highly selective picture of the United States. To the portrayals by foreign visitors, new and important elements have been added. Where once the solitary man of letters, usually European, spread his travel diary before his curious countrymen, now thousands of visitors, among them students, recruited from almost every conceivable culture, return to their homelands to convey through personal contact their own views about the colossus of the West. And we wish the verdict to be favorable; hence the compulsive need for reassurance that they do indeed "like America."

The conviction that favorable world opinion is an asset is widely shared in America, but opinions differ as to the pragmatic consequences of good will. Some persons entertain the wistful if somewhat naive hope that good will can be directly translated into an unequivocal Indian choice for the West in the East-West struggle. We do not share this hope. Nations do not become allies or enter coalitions because of mutual approval, but because they need one another. A convenient rhetoric has transformed the hated enemies of only a decade ago into today's "peace-loving" and "freedom-loving" allies. In the last analysis, we would do well to remember that foreign policy is made in the chancelleries, is

dictated by national interest, and is notoriously free from the influences of transoceanic nostalgia. The failure to keep in mind these elementary considerations has led to a good deal of unnecessary disillusionment about measures designed to develop friendship among peoples. It is trivial criticism to measure the incomplete success of student exchange against objectives which it cannot possibly achieve.

For our part, we hope for more limited objectives. In the long run, India and the United States may well engage in a closer partnership than currently exists; but in a world of increasing interdependence their nationals are in any event likely to meet with increasing frequency. In such contacts it will be helpful for men of both nations to "understand" each other in the pristine sense of that much-abused word. Men who have exchanged visits and are conversant with each other's ways and social structures can do much to reduce the culturally imposed frictions which are apt to make difficult the relationships between peoples separated by barriers of language, history, and value premises. It appears to us that an achievement of this magnitude would be ample justification for present and future exchanges of students.

Several times in the course of this volume we have implied that the "sensitive-area complex" is a potentially important barrier to the achievement of understanding. The real block to cultural learning and transfer seems to be the overriding question of loyalty, of "cultural betrayal." The problem is to find means to rob the Indian-American comparison of much of its content of praise and blame, of its struggle for relative virtues, of its heroes and villains, utopias and infernos. The realization of this goal will depend primarily on the wisdom and moderation of both governments, and only secondarily on nongovernmental agencies responsible for cross-cultural education. Nevertheless, we believe that the following suggestions might help remove the blocks to understanding occasioned by the sensitive-area complex.

Ascription of Status and Recognition of Individual Achievement. At its core, the sensitive-area complex depends on the understandably high degree of identification of the visitor with his home country. There is a tendency for every visitor to regard himself as an unofficial ambassador and this inclination is often encouraged by his government. In his message to Indians in foreign lands, on Republic Day, 1956, President Rajendra Prasad wrote:

Although the status of the country has mostly to do with its foreign

policy, its relations with other countries, and the success of its policies at home, yet I feel that the general attitude and behaviour of its nationals living in other countries has also something to do with it. Personal contacts with foreign nationals are a potential medium of an individual's assessment. And in this particular case, the assessment of the individual might well be the assessment of the nation he belongs to, because every foreigner may not have the means or the inclination to get his first impression checked or corrected. Let every Indian abroad, therefore, know that he is in a way the custodian of the nation's prestige and honor in foreign lands. I hope you will always remember this fact and act accordingly.

In view of the close personal identification of the student with the prestige of his home country it seems reasonable to assume that any assault on the status of India will be perceived as an implicit attack on the student himself. However, it seems equally plausible that the converse is true; the elevation of the status of the student will be interpreted by him as an expression of good will toward India. If this hypothesis is correct, the student who is accorded overt individual status-recognition may, as a consequence, alter his perceptions of Americans' attitudes toward India and relax the set of mechanisms which he erects in defense and praise of his country.

As a concrete illustration of one of many such measures that might be taken, voluntary associations that deal with foreign students could provide Indian students who take part in their programs with tangible symbolic recognition of participation. Virtually all the students in our sample had enjoyed positions of prominence in one or more prestigeful student or social service organizations in India. In the United States, the path of these organizational accomplishments is largely closed to the student from abroad. The lack of honorific distinction contributes to a considerable sense of ego deflation in many students. To help overcome this situation, summer institutes, for example, could reward Indians who are section chairmen, discussion leaders, *rapporteurs*, and resource personnel by including them on their official letterheads and publicity circulars. In itself, this type of recognition for the indispensable contribution that foreign students make to such programs is inconsequential; but to the extent that these and similar procedures demonstrate our concern for the status needs of Indian nationals it may constitute an important principle in fostering international understanding. In brief, we hold that one way of achieving understanding with

India is through indirection, by giving due consideration to the individual status needs of its unofficial ambassadors.

Achievement of Understanding through Participation as a Supplement to Tourism. As we have indicated, most of the students manage to complete an impressive share of the Baedeker tour in the first sixteen months or so of their visits. One of the students' most frequent criticisms of volunteer agencies is that the contacts which they provide are drawn from a highly selective subculture—urban, cosmopolitan, middle-class, highly educated. But it seems to us that the problem is not so much one of representativeness—of drawing in the "American masses," "the working man," "the farmer"—as it is one of the depth of the contacts made.

The process of touring ill equips a man to understand; the most perceptive can do little more than observe discrete shreds and patches before his itinerary compels him to move on. Other contacts which are designed to supplement this hasty superficial view and to introduce the visitor to the "real" America often fall short of the mark. The solicitude of a church group desperately anxious to promote international friendship, the atmosphere of quasi-official good will at an International House dance, and the staged drama of a lower upper-class family exhibiting the American family on good behavior tend to obscure the true character of our people and the real operation of our institutional structure. It is little wonder that some of the students in the Useems' sample find America "enigmatic."

It might be well to urge the Indian students to live in a college dormitory which, the late Stephen Leacock remarked only half-facetiously, is more important than either the faculty or the library as an instrument of instruction. They might be invited to join neighborhood organizations and help execute community projects. Instead of numerous isolated dinner invitations perhaps a protracted visit with a single family in which the student shared ordinary family activities might provide a better contextual basis for intelligent appraisal. Whatever specific procedures are adopted, the principle seems clear: if the Indian students are to learn to understand America they must be encouraged to participate rather than to observe and to do so in situations that are real rather than contrived, among people who are relaxed rather than on perpetual exhibit.

Exercise of Responsibility by Americans in India. Impressions of

America are reinforced and enriched by the observation of American tourists in India. This fact imposes the moral requirement on such a visitor to behave responsibly. The reader will recall our discussion of the censorship and possessiveness that Indian students exercise toward visiting Indian dignitaries. Much the same phenomenon seems to occur in India, only there the foreign-returned critically appraise the visiting American who addresses an Indian audience.

At these lectures they are curious to see how the foreigner presents his country and handles the "hot" questions that are asked by the audience. None reports any change in opinion as a result of hearing a lecture; some, however, pick up items that they then use in their own conversation. Sometimes the foreigner nettles his audience by making statements that are shallow (for example, lavish praise of India without knowing much about it), silly, (for example, that capitalism is a term invented by the Communists to embarrass the West), or misleading (for example, a speaker sent out by the foreign administration claiming to speak on his own authority). When that occurs, word is passed among friends to help correct the impressions.[2]

Ignorance is no more palatable in India than it is in the United States. It is unpleasant to have one's own prestige depend upon the inanities of a particularly bumptious American tourist.

In closing, it bears pointing out that this study, in common with most others dealing with cross-cultural education, has been primarily interested in the foreign student himself. The impact of foreign students upon the Americans with whom they come into contact is an important but little explored area of research. The presence of foreign students on our campuses is an invaluable addition to our educational resources, and our experience in following the careers of the Indian students convinces us that this resource is by no means fully utilized. Cross-cultural education is an interactive process, enriching the visited as well as the visitor, and future research might well seek out ways of maximizing the benefits to be derived from such cosmopolitan contacts.

[2] Useem and Useem, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–77.

Appendix and Index

APPENDIX ◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈◈ Sample Interview

SINCE the presentation of the actual interview material in the body of the report has been scanty and fragmentary, it appears mandatory that the reader should have the opportunity of seeing at least a sample of the discussions upon which the analyses are based. Each interview was recorded on wire and transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts with identification removed are available to responsible scholars upon request to the authors.

The following hour-long interview was selected because it contains a brief discussion of most of the changes from preconceptions to more mature images of the United States and the student's conceptions of the roles he was playing on and off the campus. The discussion took place several months after the student's arrival in the United States. Since the "sensitive-area" phenomenon is a construct and has been fully illustrated with quotations in the text we did not include here additional material on the affect which accompanies the assessments of the United States when those assessments are linked to hostile images of India.

The student from whom this interview was taken is young, intelligent, politically sophisticated. He is in effect an emancipated, "self-made" man who has almost completely broken his family ties. He falls within the academic group and was supported in the United States by a fellowship paying full tuition and maintenance. Although he returned home after a single year's sojourn, he made serious efforts to prolong his stay.

Q. Where did you eat your first meal in America?
A. In a cafeteria.
Q. Which one, do you remember?
A. No, I don't exactly remember. It is very near to the Henry Hudson Hotel. It might be a Johnson's cafeteria. I don't exactly remember. Perhaps it is an automatic cafeteria.

Q. An automat?

A. An automat. And it was the first experience for me, because I had never seen an automat. I did not know how to operate it. I had to ask a couple gentlemen, and they told me that this is the way to operate it. And so I operated it. It is a very novel experience, and very interesting too. Because I was getting all the time that there were a number of automats up there and you can go and just drop coin and get it. So it was very interesting.

Q. Is this something you had heard about in India?

A. Yes, I had heard of it, but I had not seen it previously.

Q. Did you have any difficulties with the American money system? Did you know what coins to drop?

A. Oh yes, in the beginning there was a great difficulty, because I could not distinguish between one and the other, between the twenty-five, quarter, dime. I could not distinguish. So all the time somebody was giving me coins I had to distinguish, look at it, what it is and how it is. It took some time for me to count.

Q. No one in India had told you about the American money system?

A. No, nobody told me. Somebody just told me that the difference about notes. One dollar or ten dollars, they look the same. So you have to be careful. That is the only thing I knew. But with regard to the coins, I did not know.

Q. Can you recall your impression of the first people that you saw in the United States?

A. Oh yes, I was a bit nervous at first. I did not meet many of them. Of course I was on the boat, so I saw more there. But one thing which impressed me very much was the friendliness of the Americans. Because sometimes I had the feeling that if I ask a question perhaps they will not reply. Or if they do reply, they usually are very harsh. So that was my feeling. But whenever I found difficulty I asked questions and they answered the questions with all politeness and even sometimes helped me in any way I liked.

Q. Did this surprise you?

A. Yes, very much. Because I have seen many people in my country asking questions and it is quite all right. But yet, I remember one instance at least. I wanted to know the post office and I asked one young gentleman, "Where is the post office?" Not only he told me, he told me that you go in this way and that way. I felt a little puzzled and perhaps looked askance. Then the man could feel I was nervous. So he accompanied me to the post office. I felt very much impressed. Such a friendliness I did not expect at all.

Q. Did you ordinarily have trouble getting around when you first came? Was this a source of difficulty to you?

A. In New York?

Q. In New York, yes.

A. No. On the first day I had difficulty because I did not know the different streets. But when I got the map and I asked for directions and then they told me. It has the different routes and the different avenues. So there was no difficulty. Also the foreign student advisers they are doing a lot of business for us. They acquainted us with everything. So in a day or two you could know everything.

Q. Did you have any picture before you came here of what New York would be like? What did you expect?

A. I had some hazy picture not very bright. I cannot say that I had a clear picture. I just knew two things—Wall Street, that I had read from books, and its skyscrapers. These are the two things I read from the books, the big skyscrapers and the number of motorcars I should say. But I could not see much motorcars in New York. I thought why do people say that America is full of motorcars. There were not so many, not plenty. I think in Calcutta there are more motorcars than in New York. Of course, when we went to Hyde Park to meet Mrs. Roosevelt I saw all the time motorcars passing here and there. But in New York, not very much and the skyscrapers of course impressed me very much, the lights and skyscrapers.

Q. Can you recall any particularly pleasant things that happened to you in New York? How did you spend your first night in the United States?

A. I think the first night I went to Radio City in New York where they have got the drama going on, and there was a film also. And then the music. This huge orchestra—you call it orchestra?—huge orchestra with thousands of people sitting there and the orchestra going on. They were playing the piano and different kind of musical instruments. That interested me very much. We have music in our country, but not in such an organized form. We have mostly vocal music, I should say, not instrumental music. But in Radio City the instrumental music was very good, because fifty people were playing together, and the audience was very good. That was the first night I think.

Q. Any other pleasant things happen to you while you were in New York?

A. Especially the United Nations building made of glass. We sat in on one of the meetings. I think a Security Council meeting. They were transacting business and we heard with an earphone. Then we had also the Rockefeller Building. We went to the top of it and saw New York. And we also saw television, that was also rather interesting, because I did not see television previously. So that was a very nice experience. I was on television. I was talking to some men. They asked me some questions. It was very interesting.

Q. You say you appeared on television?

A. Yes, I appeared on television for one minute. He just wanted me to tell something to the American people. I had nothing much to say. I just sent my greetings. I also saw on television the Democratic Convention.

Q. What was your impression of the Democratic Convention?

A. It was a huge effort, a huge festival and Mrs. Roosevelt was present that day, and also Mrs. Edwards, I think, she was vice-president. She was presiding. And I was really surprised at the tremendous amount of patience that Mrs. Roosevelt had. The noise went on for 15 minutes or 20 minutes. An ovation for her. And she was calm and quiet and did not lose her patience.

Q. Now, do you particularly recall any unpleasant things that happened to you while you were in New York?

A. Yes, I think so. One incident. I had been to Harlem. When I saw that place, in New York City, such a big city, where so many people are living and so many big skyscrapers, I saw the people were very poor in that area. So that part was very unpleasant. I did not expect people to be poor in New York. In my mind there was the impression, that perhaps in New York nobody is poor. Everybody has a motorcar and everybody is enjoying the life. But that area was quite a poor area, and also a bit dirty.

Q. Can you recall where you got the impression that everybody was rich in New York?

A. I had read it in a lot of books in India. And all the time we were told by different people that the Americans have it very easy, everybody has a motorcar, and everybody has got plenty of wealth and plenty of money. So that was my introductory impression.

Q. Had you seen any American films in India?

A. Yes, a lot of films I saw. Hollywood films.

Q. What is your opinion of Hollywood films?

A. Oh they are just murder and killing. I do not like the American films. Most of them. Except of course, some of the films I liked. But most of the films—American films—are rather second-rate. Most of the time they just kill and murder. There is no story and there is no purpose. I really felt surprised why the American people are so friendly. In the films, all the time they just kill and murder. I do not understand that. I asked some of the people why are so many films only of murder and killing and they told me that Americans all the time have a full life. So they just want to enjoy something, and this gives a little amount of excitement. Then I asked "Don't you think it is a bad influence on the children? It gives them a bad impression to see that." He said no, it doesn't give any impression to the children because they know that the man who is the murderer,

he is also killed in the film. So, I tried to see if actually it happened or no. Sometimes it happened. Sometimes it did not happen.

Q. Now, thinking back again to your first experiences in July, what were the things about America that most surprised you?

A. Oh, one thing which still stands in my memory and which I think I like the most in America which I like, is I find that there is no class in America. What I mean is this, in India you can know who is the rich man and who is the poor man. The difference is very great. A man who is going in a motorcar or the man who is going without motorcar, the difference is so great that you can easily detect who—which man is poor and which man is rich. In America it is very difficult to tell which man is rich and which man is poor. At least I do not recognize. Secondly, which impressed me very much, the respect given to manual laborers. By manual laborers I mean the waiter in the hotel or in the cafeteria. In the evening they are in the same place, come to the cinema, enjoy the life and there is no disrespect for them. I don't see that attitude in my country. In the United States, there is no class. So this is the most interesting point which I liked very much.

Q. What did you like least?

A. That is a difficult question. But I think if I have to mention that, I think the attitude of the women.

Q. Attitude of women?

A. Possibly it is because I have an Oriental mind and I can't see the way they go and the way they look and the way they talk. I am not accustomed to it. I don't know whether it is good or bad. Of course I accept that women should be given freedom and that they should have the same social status. But call that flippant—or what do you call it—they have no seriousness in their life, no seriousness of purpose and I think lack of morality. I don't know, I can't tell because I have not seen much of them, but I feel that I don't like their attitude.

Q. When did you first meet American women?

A. I have seen them on the boat and some of them in New York but I met more of them during my orientation.

Q. What sorts of experiences did you have at the orientation center?

A. We had a lot of field trips and discussion of this topic and that topic and discussion about American civilization, American life, American family. Also we discussed our own culture. We had a very nice time there, and the people were also very friendly and there were a lot of invitations from families.

Q. Did you accept any invitations?

A. Yes, I went to many families and had dinner with them and talked

with them. They are very friendly because it is a very small town and I liked it very much. I liked it more than I liked New York.

Q. What was dinner like on such occasions?

A. You take very much less time in cooking, whereas in our country we take more time in cooking. I have gone to many families. They just take 10 or 15 minutes to eat. But in the case of our country, they take hours and hours to prepare. About six hours. So all the time our women are busy making meals. But here they just have some potatoes or tomatoes and then some rice and chicken cooked together and salad. They just—they don't have any gorgeous meals.

Q. Did you enjoy those dinners?

A. Yes, I enjoyed them very much. They wanted to know many things about India. I also asked a number of questions to them. So naturally we discussed many topics, that is why I liked it very much. Actually I have written three or four articles about American life. My first impressions about America, the presidential election, college education—Bennington College—and the fourth article about family life.

Q. Well, suppose you share your impressions with me about some of these things. What are the things which you mentioned about the presidential election? Would you mind expanding a bit?

A. Yes, of course. In my article I have tried to be impartial. But personally I feel that I like Stevenson more than I like Eisenhower. There is no reason for it, but I feel that Stevenson is more intellectual than Eisenhower. And his speeches I like very much full of humor and full of intellect and he upholds the standards. So I feel that he is a person who knows how to manage things. Eisenhower's speeches also are full of vitality, but I don't think they are so much of a penetrating character as the speeches of Stevenson. Of course, I don't want to go and campaign for anybody—but I just feel that Stevenson is perhaps the man who can maintain the American standard more than Eisenhower.

Q. What is your impression of the entire process of electing a president?

A. It is very good. Because we had also an election just about 5 or 6 months back in India and you know most of the people in India aren't educated and who didn't have radio or don't have television propaganda, and they just go talk to the people. But here the system is very good. They just go to radio or television, make speeches, they come out in papers. This has educational value. People also have politeness and there is not much of back-patting or bottle-throwing. It is a nice democratic process. But one thing, if I am permitted to say, the appearance of Mr. Truman at the last moment and coming for Stevenson, the way he speaks I don't like. I don't think this

is the American standard. I am all the time thinking that he should maintain a high standard of speaking, but the way he threw mud, it is not dignified.

Q. Now, what are some of the other things that you wrote articles about? You mentioned family life.

A. One thing which impressed me very much was the equality of the husband and wife in the family.

Q. Did this impress you favorably?

A. Yes, that is very good. In the case of our country, women are more or less subordinate and they don't have any control over the family. But one thing which did not impress me is the non-attachment in the family. In the family there is not much of attachment, there is a great deal of divorce. I read somewhere, I don't remember where, that in 1946 or '47, the percentage of divorce in New York was over 40 per cent. I was horrified. How can it be so much? So I think that there is not much of attachment in the family and also the treatment given to the older generation. For instance, when the father and mother become old, the children do not think of them. They separate and the father and mother remain alone. I cannot understand that point, because in India we remain all together in a joint family, 10 or 15 people living together and everybody is attached to the other. And so that point also did not impress me very much. But in the family here I find that the standard of living is very high, the education and all is very high, they have entertainment, they enjoy their life. Another thing which impressed me is that both the man and wife are working outside. In the case of our country, you don't see both the husband and wife working outside. When the husband works, the wife remains inside the house.

Q. Did this impress you favorably or unfavorably?

A. Well, I can't exactly say, because I have still to make up my mind. I am told that in some cases that even though the family has children, the wife still wants to work outside. I asked why—what is the reason for this. They want to maintain their independence. But still I am thinking on that point.

Q. Now, among the other things that you wrote was an article about American college education.

A. That was only about Bennington College. It is a strange type of education. It is a girls' college. They have the progressive type of education. It means the girls are reading their lesson some weeks, and some weeks they will go outside and work in the families outside and gather some experience or earn some money and then again they will come back and attend the college. That is a new type. I like it very much. In my article I also very favorably recommended

it. In the case of India's people should also be compelled to work outside so that they can have some experience about life.

Q. What were your other impressions at Bennington, aside from . . .

A. Bennington is a very beautiful place. The climate is also good. The scenery is very beautiful and people are very friendly and I rather like to see such a small place. I did not expect really to see Bennington in America, I thought Bennington belonged really to India. It is such a small place and has such beautiful scenery with lakes and mountains all around. People are so close to each other, it is just like our family life, our village life. I liked it very much.

Q. What other things did you notice about Bennington College as a college? You mentioned that you were impressed by the fact that the girls alternately studied and did practical work.

A. The relations also between the faculty members and the students.

Q. Yes?

A. This is a rather new thing. I did not expect this because in the case of our country, you find there is some difference between the faculty members and the students. They remain always apart. There is not much of intimate connection between them. And I think sometimes the teachers they feel very superior and the students also have an inferiority complex. Here I find the students and teachers all moving together. They have the same ideas and mix on social occasions, dance on social occasions. Also, the classes are very small. In our case the classes are huge, 200 people and one teacher to train them. So no personal contact. Here each class has only 10 or 15 and one faculty member. So they come close to each other and so they know each other better.

Q. I understand that after you left the orientation center you took a short trip to Washington and then came to Philadelphia.

A. My impression was very bad about Philadelphia. I could not stand the noise here. People told me that Philadelphia is a quiet place, a calm place, not like New York. New York is very noisy, but when I came here I found that New York is less noisy instead of more noisy. We are in a place where the trolleys are going all the time. They make more noise.

Q. How is your class work going?

A. There is some difficulty. It will take some time for me to make adjustments. Sitting in the class for two hours, that I can't stand. I think that it is a rather new thing here. I was thinking all the time that in America or in England, people speak only 45 minutes, that is the maximum. Because you know in India sometimes leaders come and when they speak for hours we said that Western people never do like this. They will just speak for 45 minutes. So sometimes they tax my brain, they tax my patience. I think I will get adjusted

to it. They also give you a heavy course, I think. They give so much to read, 100 pages for one day. And I find that people do not read so much as we read there. We read intensively, American people extensively. I see in the library, many people come and just take the book and then go out and don't make any notes.

Q. Are there other differences in Indian and American education?

A. In India the method is different. The teacher comes and lectures the entire hour, then goes away. We have our seminar where we discuss tutorial, we call it. Here in the class they make discussions. We previously read the topic and then come to the class and then discuss. In the case of our country, students do not read anything previous to the class. They come to the class and just sit there and the lecturer goes on teaching and then note down and then go back and read it. So the method is a bit different.

Q. Which method is better?

A. I think the American method, because in this case students can know what they are being taught. In the other case, students—many students never prepare. They note down what has been said by the teacher. They just go and learn by heart.

Q. Have your fellow students been friendly?

A. I have not talked with many of them. Everybody seems to be busy with his own work. It is not like Bennington where we had a nice time and everybody taking care of us. But here, I think that everybody is busy with their own work. And sometimes I have the feeling perhaps, I don't know, sometimes people might be thinking that we are Negroes and so might not be talking with us. That was also my impression for some time, because I was feeling some people in India told me that there is a deep hatred for Negroes. I did not see that in Bennington. There is not much of Negroes in Bennington I think. Nor did I see much of it in New York, but here I think sometimes perhaps some Negroes.

Q. Had you heard in India that you might be treated as Negroes?

A. No, nobody told me, I heard that in Washington. In Washington one gentleman told me, he is a government student, he told me—I told him that I had a mind to go to TVA to see TVA and then I said I would go by hitchhiking, because I have some days left, so I will go by hitchhiking. But he told me that in the South you are likely to be treated as a Negro, so you must be careful, you should not go to the South by hitchhiking. So I then became a bit cautious. Until then, the idea was not in my mind at all. But when he told me that if you are taken as a Negro, then you are not allowed to go to hotels, never allowed to the train and all that. So then I felt that since people may take us as Negroes and sometimes there are many discriminations. I had seen that only in Washington, not previous

to that. In New York I did not feel that nor in Bennington. When I was thinking of hitchhiking then I developed the idea, not before that.

Q. Since then, have you taken any special notice of the treatment of Negroes?

A. No, I have not taken any special notice. I would rather not look at it from that point of view. I don't know whether the problem is belonging to the South. It was my impression that in the South that is the problem, not in Philadelphia. But I don't belong to the South, so I am not very much interested. But that feeling is working in my mind, because I have a very great mind to go to TVA, I want to see it because . . .

Q. Had you heard about TVA in India—prior to your arrival here?

A. Yes, I heard a lot about it and I read some book also about it. I read the book John Gunther *Inside U.S.A.* and I had a mind to see TVA. You know in India we are having a number of dams now, constructing them and TVA has done a lot of work I am told and I read also, heard from others so I thought I will go and see what TVA is.

Q. What is your feeling about the situation of Negroes in the United States? Do you have any feelings about it?

A. Yes, for instance, I was thinking, some people told me that there is a great deal of discrimination between white and Negroes and that is also my feeling. Because I was once told by one gentleman that one of the chief ministers of India came to America, Dr. ——— and he went to some of the hotels and that he was not allowed because he was discovered to be black. Of course, I am so glad that I am less black. But still he was not allowed to go into the hotel and I was also told that in the South the problem can be very acute. So I have the feeling that perhaps some people may take us as Negroes and think like that, but it is not very serious in my mind.

Q. Now whether or not the students think you are Negro the fact is they have not been very friendly, is that correct?

A. They are not very friendly. To be very frank, I had a different impression because what I was thinking was that people are very friendly in Bennington. People are very friendly in New York. That is perhaps because we were all the time moving in a group. The foreign student adviser was there and many other people were there—Japanese and Chinese and Germans, all types of people were there all moving together. So people were taking attention, taking care of us. When they knew the foreign students were coming they were pleased to see us and to meet us and to talk with us. But here I don't find such a great anxiety to talk with us. Sometimes even I sit at the tables, I don't talk with anybody, dining table I mean.

When I go to the dining hall I just take my meal and the other man also takes his meal and I sometimes feel that I ought to talk with him, just to know some of his mind. But sometimes I feel perhaps he is hesitant, doesn't want to talk with me. He is very busy with his own work and doesn't want to move about or speak anything.

Q. Well then, who are your friends?

A. Here? Not very much, I have not had any friends up to now.

Q. How do you spend your spare time?

A. Very dull and monotonous.

Q. Well, what do you do?

A. I just go to the library and I read and then sometimes when I feel monotonous I go to the cinema and come back. Of course, I have some acquaintances, even in the dormitory I find it very dull because the students close their doors and read inside. Because I was expecting something different, I thought we would meet them, mix with them and talk with them and have a happy time sometimes, even at the time of leisure. That is why I chose the dormitory because I knew I would come in contact with the Americans and know their life, but when I stay in the dormitory all they do is close the door and read inside. And if they go outside, they go with their own friends. So, it is a little difficult for me to mix with them. I have not been able to mix with any up until now. Some of the students I find voracious readers. They read a lot. Some of the students are interested in games and the game is a very interesting thing here because I find 75 thousand people going to see a football game.

Q. Were you at that game?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you enjoy it?

A. Yes, very much—75 thousand, I could not imagine it. It is like a huge festival. That was very beautiful. Our football game and your football game is different, but then I enjoyed it. I have not seen it up until now. That is a new thing. I enjoyed it very much. Of course sometimes I just try to talk with somebody and just know a little but it seems everybody is busy here with something or other.

Q. Have you been to International House?

A. Yes, I have been there once, once or twice I think. That was only on Friday. Friday they have some occasion there and we all meet each other, so I went Friday. I find many people of different countries and especially I find a number of Indians. My point was I did not come here to meet Indians here, I met Indians every day in my country. I came here to meet the Americans, just to know their life but in that I find that I have failed here in Philadelphia I should say. I was telling somebody yesterday, I think Dr. ———, I told

him, had I not been to Bennington, I would not have been able to know anything of America.

Q. Have you been to anyone's home for dinner?

A. Here—no.

Q. Not at all?

A. Not at all.

Q. Have you spoken to any of the professors except those who have official business with you?

A. No, I met all the professors who have the courses I have taken, met them and talked also with them, but not very much closely acquainted up until now because we have had only one session in each class.

Q. Suppose you were suddenly returned to India tomorrow and you were to meet your friends and your family and they were to ask you, "What is America like?" Suppose they were to give you in the American fashion, ten minutes to answer and you had to compress all your impressions, all your experiences, all your preliminary feelings about America in a brief few minutes, what are the kinds of things that you might tell them?

A. The first thing I would tell them is that Americans, at least some of them whom I met, are very friendly and I was really charmed with their friendliness. Second also, I have met that some of them are very informal in character, no introduction is necessary, just go and talk with them. But at the same time also, there is a feeling in me that the friendliness is not very deep and you just talk and when you talk you enjoy it, the moment you do not meet each other, there is no question of connection with each other. You just forget each other. So, it is quite informal and not very deep in character, this informality is only on the surface. They are friendly, but their friendliness doesn't go very deep. That's my thought. Secondly, I feel that Americans have plenty of energy and they just want adventure, just wander here and there and take up this work and that work. They want to explore each and every sphere, they have plenty of energy. That is because of the food that they have, because their standard of living is very high and they are getting all sorts of food. Their life is fully mechanized and they are also trying to shorten their amount of labor as much as they can, so they have plenty of energy. And then there is the basis of equality, between men and women and no difference at all between men and women. And the best point which attracted my attention and on which I have written an article, that there is no distinction between rich and poor. I personally feel, of course, there are poor people here in America and rich people here in America, but the distinction is not at all noticeable. Nobody can find out whether some people are rich

or some people are poor. And even those who are manual laborers, even those who are working in the hotels as waiters, they also take equal treatment as other people. Even the president, when Truman comes, people treat him just like an ordinary man, they don't show him any amount of extra respect. Then also another thing which I find, students here also in one thing that pleased me very much, they take a job and read for a class. In the case of India for instance, a student can read only while his father can maintain him. His father pays the money. His father must have money. If they do not provide money, they can't read at all. Here I find many of the students independently working and then maintaining their studies. Many of the people are coming to my room. Some they want to sell newspapers, some people want to sell magazines, some people want to sell this and that, advertisements. So I asked them some questions. How much money do you get from this? How do you maintain yourself? They say I don't get any money from my family, I maintain my studies here by independent work only. So, this is another beautiful thing, because they work, make money and then take also the college classes and there is no discrimination for these people. For instance, I know I have seen cases also in India where students work and then come to the class. Sometimes people do not very much appreciate their work. If they are doing something, or they are just like—they also feel inferior those who are working, they also feel inferior and those who are not working and studying in the class, they also feel superior. Here the superiority complex or the inferiority complex is not there, they are all just equal.

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